

INCENTIVIZING URBAN CONSERVATION IN KOLKATA:
THE ROLE OF PARTICIPATION, ECONOMICS AND REGULATION IN
PLANNING FOR HISTORIC NEIGHBORHOODS IN INDIAN CITIES

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by

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ABSTRACT

Historic inner city areas in India are characterized by a rich array of building typologies associated with traditional communities, socio-cultural practices and local commerce. Yet conservation in urban India has only marginally gone beyond protecting its monumental built heritage and restoring individual landmark buildings. This thesis studies the complex overlay of issues that impede urban conservation of historic neighborhoods within Indian cities today and in Kolkata, in particular. The work argues for effective heritage economics, bolstered by robust regulations and dynamic participatory frameworks to shield historic urban cores from demolition and irreversible change while being rehabilitated for contemporary use. It further identifies the Fort precinct in Mumbai, the Walled City in Ahmedabad, and the French and Tamil towns in Pondicherry as locations with effective urban conservation paradigms. Through these, a range of innovative financial instruments, policy measures and heritage legislation at local and state levels are illustrated, that act as a fundamental toolkit for effective regeneration. The case of north Kolkata's historic neighborhoods is finally analyzed to distill the lessons and lacunas that serve as opportunities and constraints on its path to urban revitalization.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Kamalika Bose has a background that encompasses six years of professional experience in design education and research, heritage activism, and conservation in India. She was awarded the Fulbright-Nehru Master's Fellowship in Leadership Development to attend the Historic Preservation Planning program at Cornell University in 2011. Further utilizing this opportunity to hone her research and preservation skill set, she interned at Smithsonian Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum in New York in 2012 and collaborated with Historic Districts Council in New York in 2013.

Graduating in Interior Design from CEPT University, India, she was an Assistant Professor at her alma mater, from 2008–11, while actively pursuing research and writing on India's historic and contemporary built environment. Her publications include *Seeking the Lost Layers: An Inquiry into the Traditional Dwellings of the Urban Elite in North Calcutta* (2008, author) and *A History of Interior Design in India, Volume 1: Ahmedabad* (2007, co-author). She has collaborated on architectural research projects with Hatje Cantz, Pictor Publishing, Geo Magazine, and Marg Publications. In India, Kamalika has also assisted conservation architect Manish Chakraborti on rehabilitation projects in Kolkata and Rajasthan, from 2005 - 07, and conducted heritage walks for school children and non-profit organizations. She has presented her work in national and international conferences and exhibitions, including London, Berlin and New York.

For Ma, Baba, Danish and our collective love for the 'City of Joy.'

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Early discussions with several academicians and practitioners provided great clarity of thought on the research topic, its issues, challenges and opportunities. Here I am particularly thankful to Prof. Rahul Mehrotra, Chair of the Department of Urban Planning and Design at Harvard University; Prof. Nalini Thakur, Head of Department of Architectural Conservation, School of Planning & Architecture, New Delhi; and Nimish Patel, architect and founder of Abhikram, Ahmedabad. The diverse perspectives and practices of the following conservation professionals working in India have further enriched the research: Ashish Acharjee, conservation architect, Kolkata; Mridula Jose, conservation architect, Cochin; Ravi Kaimal, architect, New Delhi; Anupa Mehta, Director, Arts Reverie, Ahmedabad; Debashish Nayak, Advisor,

Ahmedabad Heritage Cell; Ashok Panda, Convenor, INTACH Pondicherry; Rajiv Patel, Founder, City Heritage Center, Ahmedabad; Sasi Shorey, architect and town planner, Hyderabad; and K J Sohan, Ex-mayor & Convenor, INTACH Cochin & Kerala. I am deeply indebted to them for generously sharing their time, views and work with me.

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INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement and Relevance of Study:

Urban built heritage in Indian cities has often been defined through its rich array of monumental architectural edifices, historically associated with those heading the power structures of society. Historic neighborhoods, “typically characterized by traditional houses, streetscapes, water systems, living communities and their associated traditional livelihoods and social practices”¹ assign an alternate significance to the city. Despite having undergone physical and social transformations, they lend cultural identity to the city and are a pivot of its local and regional economy. Signifying a renewed future for this non-monumental built heritage has been low priority and garnered fractured support in India’s mainstream conservation discourse. Accepted approaches to rehabilitation of historic buildings and reuse of inner city neighborhoods often tend to be derived out of an economic logic. The role of private capital and community participation in recasting deficient measures of city agencies, to bolster neighborhood preservation efforts, are successfully used in several cities the world over.

In India, the tentacles of a complicated set of factors firmly grip and render helpless progressive ideas of urban conservation. Chief among these are; an ossified sense of history, along with nostalgic and patrimonial approaches to cultural stewardship continually opposes neighborhood conservation as a developmental tool. In the absence of strong political will as a prime vector for change, national development policies inadequately support conservation objectives. Exclusion of citizen participation and awareness has created ambivalence towards the non-monumental, and severely depleted the historic landscape. “Dilapidated urban fabric,

¹*Historic Districts for All – India: A Social and Human Approach for Sustainable Revitalization, Brochure for Local Authorities.* Delhi: UNESCO, March 2010, Pg. 3.

unplanned growth, insensitive new development, encroachments are constant maladies plaguing the historic core of Indian cities.”² This has proved debilitating to historic resources and communities, especially in the changing context of development in a globalized economy. Low priority and inertia towards advocacy and financing for urban conservation initiatives, by the State and the profession, has emerged as a great challenge to the conservation movement in India today.

With these broad concerns, this study identifies the historic neighborhoods of north Kolkata³ as directly and negatively impacted by the above phenomenon. They have yet to find viable channels of revitalization that catalyzes positive change in their immediate neighborhoods and local communities. It argues that through effective heritage economics, ably supported by regulation and participatory frameworks, traditional neighborhoods in Kolkata, and across several Indian towns, can be shielded from demolition and disfigurement while being restored or repurposed for today. The study examines the economics that underscore conservation paradigms for inner city neighborhoods in India. It aims to understand on-the-ground financial realities that impact urban conservation beyond the historical and cultural perspectives that largely dominate the discourse. The work explores a range of financial instruments, policy measures and heritage legislation existing at the State and municipal level as a fundamental toolkit for effective regeneration. Here it is mindful of the social, political and cultural differences and disparities prevalent across Indian cities today and does not attempt to generalize situations. And yet, the lack of an economic framework, backed by robust heritage regulations

² Jain, Shikha. Introduction, *Context – Built, Living and Natural*. Volume V, Issue 1, Spring/Summer 2008 on Urban Conservation in Indian Cities, Pg. 5.

³ The key components of each primary unit of an individual neighborhood (termed *para*), in north Kolkata, are streets, urban squares, bazaars and informal retail, civic/social/religious institutions, middle class dwellings and the landlord’s (*zamindar*) mansion as communal anchor.

and holistic planning, has been the root of failed attempts even where noble intentions exist.

This critical aspect can be viewed as common to deteriorating historic neighborhoods, reflecting diverse timelines, cultures and geographic areas.

It is believed that “though India is on the road to urban conservation with several initiatives taken at the international, national and local level in the last decade, we still have a long way to go.”⁴ This study finds relevance in the wake of two key developments that will impact the long-term priorities for stewardship of historic inner city neighborhoods. Foremost is India’s ongoing attempts at acquiring the UNESCO ‘World Heritage City’ status for Delhi and the Walled City of Ahmedabad. This mandates the holistic protection and management, through strategies of socio-economic development, of urban built heritage. It has created a climate that is ripe for discussions beyond architectural conservation of historical monuments that has traditionally merited greater interest and protection. The second aspect is the availability of central government funding for “renewal and redevelopment of inner city areas.”⁵ Disbursed under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JnNURM) for upgrading urban infrastructural services, it has emerged as a hotbed for proposing fast track development projects in sixty eligible cities. In spite of its benefits, the risk involved includes the “demolition of entire ensembles of historic buildings, irreversibly altering the traditional urban layout,”⁶ in an effort to modernize the inner city.

⁴ Op Cit, Jain, Shikha. *Context* –Spring/Summer 2008, Introduction, Pg. 5.

⁵ JnNURM Overview: Thrust areas, <http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/broucher.pdf> , accessed 25 April 2013.
Reducing congestion through road-widening, creating public amenities, streetscape improvements and harnessing tourism potential are some components of the Inner City Revitalization Scheme.

⁶ Yang, Minja. ‘UNESCO Cultural Conventions for Sustainable Urban Development,’ in *Context* –Spring/Summer 2008, Pg. 7.

Approach to Study and Research Methodology:

In the above light, formulation and implementation of participatory, economic and regulatory frameworks become imperatives for successfully mobilizing conservation of historic neighborhoods. The work hypothesizes that with the addition of an incentivized financial toolkit that is easily accessible to owners of historic properties, private investors and other stakeholders will begin to address the problem effectively. To test this theoretical position, the study is conceptually divided into two segments. The first segment (spanning chapters 1 and 2) uses a literature review to establish the historical context along with regulatory and economic frameworks that are currently operational across specific Indian states. In the second segment (spanning chapters 3 and 4) a comparative case-study approach is undertaken. Action and change is most effective locally, but a lack of knowledge-sharing and awareness of precedents restricts learning from their strategies and utility in other contexts. At the onset, a ‘best practice’ model demonstrates how planned financial investment in an area’s historic resources can galvanize positive change and boost community health. Three cases, namely the Fort precinct in Mumbai, the Walled city of Ahmedabad and the French and Tamil towns in Pondicherry are studied for diverse and innovative approaches. Lessons from these inform the final inquiry where Kolkata serves as a representative example of slow and misguided urban conservation practices. Using the case of historic neighborhoods in north Kolkata the work tests the framework within which economic incentives can become a key generator of their preservation.

The research methodology utilizes both primary and secondary sources along with deductive reasoning in the case studies to analyze the vital issues and existing attitudes towards rehabilitation within urban neighborhoods. Heritage conservation in India has conventionally been dominated by monument-centric European paradigms and largely excludes any dialogue on

unprotected, local built heritage. Urban conservation discourse only found traction after the establishment of India National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) in 1984 and therefore is a relatively recent phenomenon. In order to lend a distinctly contemporary perspective and indigenous voice to this study, the research has heavily relied on recent scholarship from within India over the last thirty years of the urban conservation movement. The following sources have significantly shaped this work:

1. Books, articles and essays by contemporary practitioners and conservationists in India.

Their voice is viewed as critical in shaping the future of the discipline and developing a progressive framework for urban conservation practice. Crucial sources have been writings by A. G. Krishna Menon, Abha Narain Lambah, Debashish Nayak, Nalini Thakur, Rahul Mehrotra, Sasi Shorey, Shikha Jain, Shyam Chainani, and Vikas Dilawari, among others.

2. Publications, reports, manuals and newsletters of preservation advocacy organizations.

“Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India,” by Menon and *“Heritage Conservation, Legislative and Organizational Policies for India,”* by Chainani are major works published by INTACH. They discuss the present status of heritage regulation and policy lacunas for urban conservation and how the lack of designation capacities to create historic districts results in lack of protection. Essays compiled in *“Heritage And Development: Papers Presented at the 12th International Conference of National Trusts,”* organized by INTACH in 2007 examine the aspect of urban conservation as a tool for economic development along with community engagement methods. Booklets and manuals by Mumbai based Urban Design Research Institute (UDRI) demonstrates its approach in stewarding preservation objectives through private initiative and citizen action, especially in the Fort precinct. *“Conservation after Legislation: Issues for Mumbai,”* an outcome of a seminar in

2000, also presents inputs from practitioners in Ahmedabad, and Hyderabad about economic imperatives.

3. Primary sources for case studies (chapters 3 & 4). All four case studies have relied on primarily material that was generously shared by a number of persons and organizations. Some key sources are:

Mumbai: “*The Fort Precinct in Bombay: Conserving an Image Centre*,” published by UDRI, along with three other booklets that present proposals for each district within the Fort area greatly informed the case study. “Buildings in the Kala Ghoda Art District,” is an exhibition catalogue that highlights the qualities of this urban ensemble and architectural features. “Ballard Estate: A Corporate District,” highlights the emerging issues that threaten to transform this area and offers suggestions for its comprehensive planning. “Restoring a Banking District,” is a brochure that assists the Horniman Circle Association to formulate a comprehensive plan for converting the area into the Banking and Financial District. Discussions with Prof. Rahul Mehrotra, Chair, Department of Urban Planning and Design at Harvard University and Executive Committee Member of UDRI, helped build a nuanced perspective on the Mumbai model.

Ahmedabad: The earliest pilot study commissioned by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) titled, “*Walled City Revitalization Plan, Ahmedabad: A Strategy for Comprehensive Development*,” was a key reference. Individual project reports from the Walled City restoration, executed in collaboration with the Government of France were reviewed. Mr. Debashish Nayak, Advisor to the AMC Heritage Cell, assisted in accessing this material. Mr. Rajiv Patel, Founder of the local preservation non-profit City Heritage Center, shared presentations demonstrating the financial models being implemented for various grades of heritage buildings within the Walled City.

Pondicherry: The local INTACH chapter has chiefly orchestrated activities here, and detailed communication with its Convenor, Mr. Ashok Panda, over email and the telephone, were critical in understanding their role and work. He shared project details of the Asia-Urbs Program along with their close functioning with other local and national cultural organizations working on French heritage.

Kolkata: Mr. Ashish Acharjee, a city based architect who is working closely with the Kolkata Municipal Corporation's (KMC) Town Planning department in identifying economic models for heritage buildings, was a key source. His studies and presentations, made to the KMC, have helped grasp the existing status of the heritage regulations and economic frameworks.

4. State and Municipal level reports, policies and projects. Project reports, tourism and industrial policies and heritage regulations available on state government portals and websites of various municipal departments were accessed for each case study. Furthermore project reports and manuals of each of their urban development authorities were referred to accurately understand the technical aspects of the heritage-projects, efforts and vision.

5. Use of print media: News articles, from the online archives, of leading national and local dailies were accessed to gauge public opinion, political support and sentiment for conservation issues and projects, from 1990 - 2013. Preservation controversies, arguments and deliberations covered in the media also provided a critical clue to the varying climates for conservation in different cities. Key sources include The Times of India, The Hindu, the Indian Express, the Telegraph, the Economic Times, Daily News & Analysis and the Hindustan Times.

6. Apart from those mentioned above, telephonic and email communications with the following practitioners and conservation professionals helped build a contemporary perspective on the topic. These included:

1. Ms. Mridula Jose, Conservation Architect, Cochin
2. Mr. Ravi Kaimal, Architect and Partner, Kaimal Chatterjee and Associates, New Delhi
3. Ms. Anupa Mehta, Founder, Arts Reverie, Ahmedabad
4. Mr. Nimish Patel, Conservation Architect and Founding Partner, Abhikram, Ahmedabad
5. Mr. Sasi P Shorey, Architect and Town Planner, Hyderabad
6. Mr. K J Sohan, Ex-Mayor and Convenor, INTACH Kerala & Cochin Chapters
7. Prof. Nalini Thakur, Head of Department of Architectural Conservation, School of Planning and Architecture, Delhi

Outline of Chapters:

Chapter 1, titled “*Ground Realities: Existing Attitudes to Facilitate Neighborhood Level Preservation*,” begins with an overview of the development of urban centers in India. This sets the general backdrop to understand urban conservation issues that plague historic neighborhoods in the country. It further discusses the general bias towards monuments, which has been detrimental to urban heritage, through national charters, organizational focus and mission of key conservation bodies across the country.

Chapter 2 focuses on “*The Story so Far: Investigating How Legislation and Economic Incentives Can Reshape Historic Quarters*.” It examines financial mechanisms, heritage regulations and policies for urban conservation that are extant at the State level. It reviews legislation as implemented by some Indian states with a focus on the Mumbai Regulations in 1995. Three key issues critically linked to the facilitation of urban conservation are then discussed, with a focus on their funding modes and impact upon execution. State level policies and incentives will be studied to understand these issues better. They are: re-signifying urban heritage precincts in Mumbai, providing impetus to heritage tourism in Rajasthan and Kerala, and combating gentrification in Ahmedabad, Surat and Hyderabad.

Chapter 3 examines “*Small Successes: Assessing 'Best Practice' Models for Historic Neighborhoods.*” It identifies three urban historic contexts, presented as case studies, where positive change has or is occurring, and can possibly act as ‘learning boards’ for other cities. They demonstrate how planned financial investment in an area’s historic resources can galvanize positive change and boost community health. Selected by distinction in funding mechanisms and nature of the historic precinct, they are:

1. Corporate patronage and citizen participation: Fort Precinct in Mumbai
2. Municipal efforts for economic regeneration: Walled City of Ahmedabad
3. Leveraging international action and aid for local preservation goals: French and Tamil towns in Pondicherry

Chapter 4, titled “*Customizing for Kolkata: Envisioning a Future for the ‘Paras’ of the North,*” finally tests the framework to determine whether economic incentives can become a key generator of urban conservation. It analyzes factors that contributing to the city’s inertia in the preservation arena while studying the existing local heritage laws, regulations and incentives. Lastly, using the discussions in the previous chapters, an assessment is made of which models, applied in other cities, could be adapted, modified or made relevant for Kolkata’s historic neighborhoods.

Note on Terminologies used in this thesis:

1. Definition of ‘Preservation’ and ‘Conservation’ in the Indian context: As the country historically follows a European tradition of the discipline, the two words interchange meaning when compared to the American context. Historic Preservation is defined as “the process of identifying, protecting, and enhancing buildings, places, and objects of historical and cultural

significance. This process embraces many phases including the survey and evaluation of historical, architectural, and cultural resources in an area; the development of planning and legal measures to protect these resources; the identification of public and private funding sources applicable to preservation projects; the design for the restoration, rehabilitation, and/or adaptive use of historic structures; and the ongoing maintenance of these resources,”⁷ in the American context. In India, this is understood as ‘Heritage Conservation,’ while ‘Preservation’ is seen as the technical and architectural restoration of historic buildings. In this thesis, the terminology as applicable and understood in the Indian context has been used.

2. Changing names of Indian cities in the postcolonial era: This factor has resulted in the alteration of city names popular and prevalent under British rule in the country and even today creates confusion especially in government documents, postal addresses and general parlance. This thesis refers to all Indian cities in their postcolonial name, where a change has occurred, that is, in Kolkata (formerly Calcutta), Mumbai (formerly Bombay) and Puducherry (formerly Pondicherry). This also applies to state level agencies and local bodies such as Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority and Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (formerly Bombay Municipal Corporation).

⁷ National Trust for Historic Preservation. *What is Historic Preservation?*
<http://www.preservationnation.org/resources/faq/careers-and-/what-is-historic.html>
(accessed 30 April 2013).

CHAPTER 1

GROUND REALITIES:

EXISTING ATTITUDES TO FACILITATE URBAN CONSERVATION

Summary: The chapter outlines the broad historical and urban context within which Indian cities and their historic quarters have evolved and are situated today. From ancient towns to colonial capitals and modern metropolises, the diversity of historic resources set the background to understand key conservation issues plaguing inner city neighborhoods. It further discusses the work of major national and international organizations working in India, their mission and activities, in furthering urban conservation goals. Their proactive role, or lack thereof, is examined as a major contributing factor in prioritizing and planning for revitalization of non-monumental heritage in historic cores.

1.1 Setting the Context for Conservation: A Reading of Indian Cities

“The Indian city is a product of several juxtapositions, of old and new, large and small, oriental and occidental, indigenous and imported, capitalist and socialist, rich and poor, sprawl and densification, and conservation and decay.”⁸ Today these contrasts have become intrinsic imperatives of urban development and constitute the reality of the urban landscape. This complexity poses a challenge to read, interpret, or even holistically engage into the preservation conversation the diverse physical and cultural resources of its vast civilizational history. Multiple conquests and settlers, the rise and fall of urban centers, changing modes of trade and

⁸ Nagpal, Swati. “The Gomti Riverfront in Lucknow, India: Creating a Landscape of Heritage.” Mathur, Asha Rani (ed.) *Heritage And Development: Papers Presented at the 12th International Conference of National Trusts in Dec 2007*, New Delhi: INTACH, 2012. Pg. 409.

transportation have redefined Indian cities and their urbanity relative to each other and are, even today being reshaped by a multitude of forces. The vast timeframes and expansive geographic limits of India's history have created a wide canvas of historic resources that are found today within ancient ruins, archaeological sites, sacred centers, medieval towns, feudal provinces and colonial cities (Figure 1). Their spatial adjacencies and transformations over time create several physical overlays, especially in today's urban context, and impacts conservation outcomes as well. Charting a brief narrative of some landmark phases that shaped the country's urban heritage and built resources then provides a background to the complexity at hand.

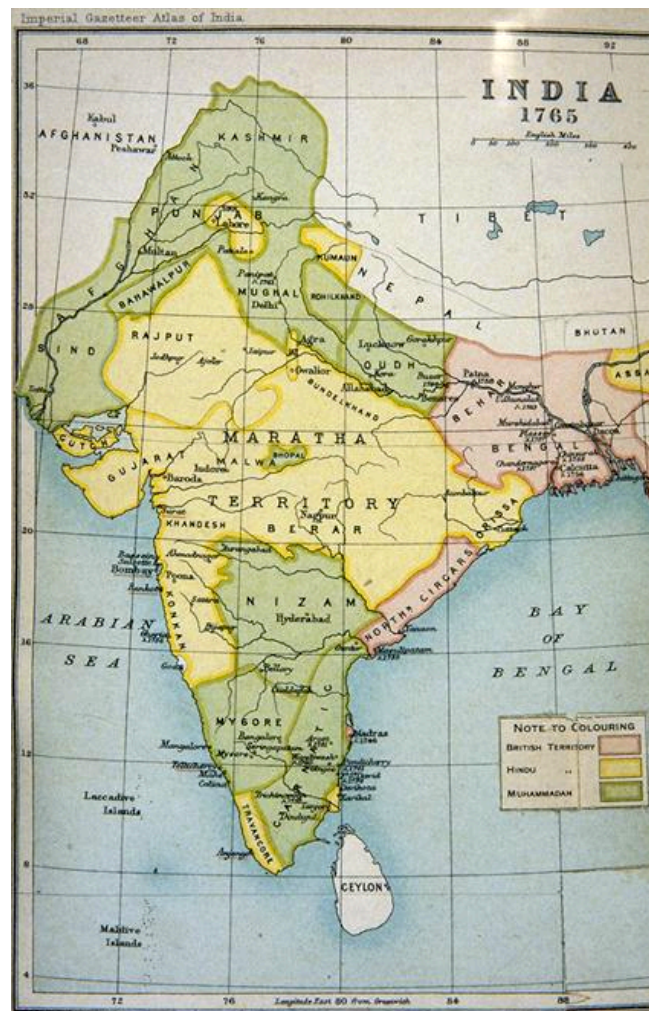


Figure 1: Map of India, c. 1765, showing the political and territorial boundaries, dominant ruling powers and significant urban centers. Source: Cornell University Digital Image Collections.

1.1.1 The Development of Urban Centers

The earliest permanent dwellings found in the Indian subcontinent date to the rock shelters in the Narmada Valley from the Late Stone Age culture circa 5500 B.C. Seeds of urban life, through pastoral developments, were first sown in the mountainous tracts of Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the lower Sindh plains by 4000 B.C., with agricultural settlements growing along river valleys in northwest India. Based on the writings of British archaeologists Stuart Piggott and D. H. Gordon, the question whether these contributed to the advanced Indus civilization, which flourished from 2500 B.C, remains largely unanswered.⁹ The first examples of planned cities along navigable rivers, Mohenjodaro, Harappa (both now in Pakistan) and Lothal show a uniformity in “physical setting, internal layout, basic architecture, sanitary arrangements, street planning, cultural products, and also perhaps, the social stratification as displayed by the houses in different categories.”¹⁰ Today these pre-historic cities form some of our earliest archaeological sites, rich material still being unearthed and analyzed.

The next era of a distinct urban culture is witnessed five centuries later when the “consolidation of the Aryan tribal system into large or small kingdoms made the most important contribution to the urban history of India.... as some of the village settlements, serving the purpose of royal capitals and kingdoms, ultimately developed into towns and cities.”¹¹ Validating the literary evidence and many references in Indian mythology, British scholar Rhys Davids, lists fourteen cities he considered clear Aryan constructs that flourished before the advent of the Buddha. These include Ayodhya, Varanasi, Mathura, Kausambi, Pataliputra, Mithila, Roruka,

⁹ Ideas based on Bhattacharya, Bimalendu. *Urban Development in India: Since Pre-historic Times*. This early work also serves as a comprehensive source to understand the chronological growth of Indian cities in the backdrop of socio-political developments.

¹⁰ Ibid. Chapter 1, Pg. 30.

¹¹ Ibid. Chapter 2, Pg. 68.

Rajgriha, Sagala, Sravasti, Vaisali, Mithila, Ujjain and Saketa. The birth of Buddhism and Jainism in the 5th century B.C follows this period of rapid urbanization and city building. Thereon cities developed under the concept of the ‘Janapada’ – ‘independent states’ or ‘Hindu Republics’ that arose under the Mauryan and Gupta empires till 5th century A.D. Each was “a distinct political unit, defined by territorial boundaries and possessing two different administrative units – the ‘pura’ or the capital and the ‘janapada’ or the remaining territory of the state, the latter divided into a number of villages and townships.”¹² The creation of a City-State developing around a capital city was a key tool in Aryan expansion into unexplored territories along the eastern coastal plains and the southern plateaus.

Ancient Indian cities suffered a sharp decline and shifting fortunes after Muslim domination began in the 9th century A.D. The formation of new towns and cities under the direct initiative of the Muslim rulers was a crucial development of the medieval period beginning with Firuz Shah (Jaunpur), Muhammad bin Tughlaq (Daulatabad), Ahmed Shah (Ahmedabad) and extending all the way to the 18th century under Mughal emperors Akbar (Agra and Fatehpur Sikri), Shahjahan (Shahjahanabad), Aurangzeb (Aurangabad) and others.¹³ The rise, fall and second coming of several older urban centers, including Delhi, signify a phase of urbanization triggered by migration and resettlement. While Delhi, Ahmedabad, Cambay and Varanasi continued to remain pivotal cities, the medieval period saw smaller centers gain prominence. Of these Patna, Allahabad, Baroda, Murshidabad and Gwalior are significant owing to the establishment of the Sultanate rule and later Subah system under the Mughals.

¹² Ibid. Chapter 2, Pg. 84.

¹³ Ibid. Chapter 3, Pg. 195.



Figure 2: Bidar Fort, the 15th century bastion of the Bahamani kings, a prominent province of the Deccan Sultanate. Source: the Author.



Figure 3: Rani Rupmati's Palace in Mandu, the 14th century capital city of the Sultans of Malwa and a clear example of provincial Deccan architecture. Source: the Author.

Each attempted to identify itself through its architecture from one side of the country to the other resulting in a number of regional styles exemplified in a typological set of the fort, mosque, mausoleum and walled residential town. A turning point here is the emergence of Deccan Sultanate cities, in south India – namely Mandu, Gulbarga, Bidar, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur – away from the seat in Delhi to assert renewed power within the local landscape (Figure 2 and 3).¹⁴ Hence in the medieval era with the capital cities remaining as a dominating force, the non-

¹⁴ Yves Porter & Gerard DeGeorge. *The Glory of the Sultans: Islamic Architecture in India*, Pg. 10.

capital cities became a set of commercial and industrial centers but urban development remained chiefly located in the river valleys, close to water and land transportation.¹⁵

The opening of the 16th century is extremely significant in the political and economic history of India, deeply impacting its later course of urbanization. It was triggered by the arrival of European merchants who rapidly established an advantage in trade over the Arabs in the region.¹⁶ This phenomenon spotlights South India and provides an important counterpoint to the overall urban growth that north and central India had already witnessed. With the near absence of any Muslim presence south of the Hindu-ruled Vijayanagara kingdom, and infighting between small fiefdoms for ocean traffic revenue, the Portuguese strategically selected the Malabar Coast, marked by the arrival of Vasco Da Gama. “The establishment of the first Portuguese factory at Calicut, ended ultimately in the subjugation of the country by the English within the succeeding three centuries.”¹⁷ The emergence of Goa, Pondicherry, Daman and Diu, under the Portuguese (Figure 4 & 5) and later the urban metropolises of Calcutta (now Kolkata), Bombay (now Mumbai) and Madras (now Chennai), under the British then marked the creation of new colonial cities.



Figure 4: Church of St. Francis of Assisi and the Se Cathedral in Old Goa, nerve center of the Portuguese in India between the 16th and 18th centuries. Source: the Author.

¹⁵ Ibid. Chapter 3, Pg. 206.

¹⁶ Ibid. Chapter 4, Pg. 220.

¹⁷ Ibid. Chapter 4, Pg. 249.



Figure 5: Streetscape showing old Portuguese bungalows and incompatible new infill in a historic neighborhood in Madgaon, South Goa. Source: the Author.

The British colonial cities had a few basic characteristics in common. They were first developed as harbors and trading posts, expanding due to imperial ambitions, with the establishment of forts and an Anglo-inhabited town inside the consolidated stronghold. Operating as two distinct networks of spaces —European and Indian—with parallel residential, commercial, religious, and recreational areas that co-existed with minimal conflict. Imposition of a “formal structure on the city—reinforcing the axes, controlling building edges and styles, instituting traffic regulations, and encouraging large corporations to open offices”¹⁸ guided urban growth in the European quarter. Residential occupational practices indicate to two distinct attitudes, first of recycling and remodeling existing edifices, often of Mughal origin such as *havelis* and tombs into domestic spaces for British families. The second attitude of “accumulation” and extravagance is seen in the garden houses and later colonial bungalows.¹⁹ In contrast, the Indian city was characterized by chaotic, haphazard growth and overcrowding.

¹⁸ Mehrotra, Rahul. “Bazaars in Victorian Arcades: Conserving Bombay’s Colonial Heritage” in *Historic Cities and Sacred Sites – Cultural roots for Urban Futures*, 2001. Pg. 155.

¹⁹ Peter Scriver & Vikramaditya Prakash (ed.). *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*.

Residential, commercial, and religious activity patterns were integrated in a tightly knit urban fabric like a traditional Indian bazaar town, as found in Georgetown in Madras, Girgaum in Bombay and also north Calcutta (Figure 6 and 7).



Figure 6: An 1865 archival photo of colonial Kolkata showing the European quarters around Dalhousie Square. Source: Cornell University Digital Image Collections

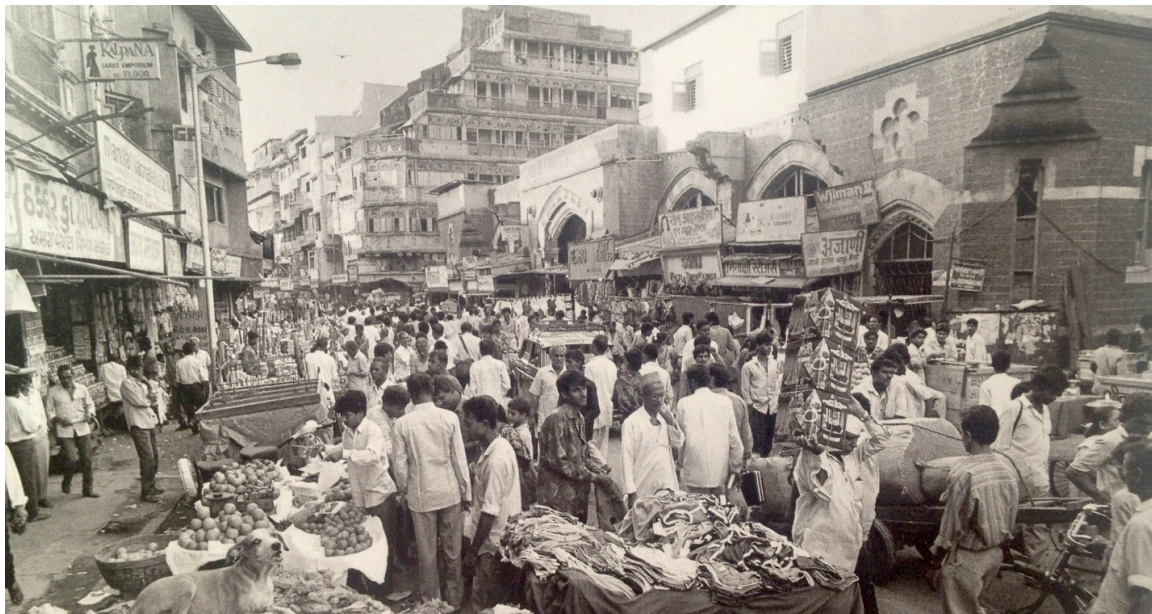


Figure 7: Inner city neighborhood in Mumbai, in the Banganga area.
Source: Bombay-The Cities Within, Pg. 303.

The post independence period gave renewed impetus to city building and architectural production from 1950 - 1970. Carrying forward the Nehruvian vision through Modernist

projects resulted in new state capitals such as Chandigarh, Bhubaneswar and Gandhinagar. Remaining new development was forced to confront many layers of tradition and the cultural milieu in existing cities. In a nationscape where new states are still being carved today together with global forces reshaping the urban environment, Indian cities provide a complex arena within which preservation can be viewed, addressed, questioned and perhaps answered. The following section attempts to outline some key issues that pose challenges for the conservation and rehabilitation of historic cores of Indian cities.

1.1.2 Understanding Urban Conservation Issues for Indian Cities:

Urban India is emerging as a unique landscape of bewildering architectural pluralism..... characterized by intense duality where modernity, tradition, prosperity and acute poverty, communality and communalism, medieval society and cutting edge information technology coalesce to create incomprehensible cities.²⁰

1.2.1. Absence of a system of designations; ambivalence towards signifying heritage zones: The area of urban conservation stems from the primary concerns and imperatives of the historic town or the 'heritage zone'. The present system minimally facilitates designation of such zones or historic districts where regulations and incentives enforce conservation. Heritage zone studies and pilot projects by INTACH have identified "in a holistic manner and attempted to locate unprotected architectural heritage.... but it did not establish the criteria to guide decision-making in other conservation projects or situations."²¹ The lack of clarity, and absence of established framework for what constitutes a historic zone, district, precinct or conservation area

²⁰ Mehrotra, Rahul. "Constructing Cultural Significance: Looking at Bombay's Historic Fort Area" in *Future Anterior*, Pg. 25.

²¹ Op. Cit. Menon, 1989.

is a debilitating factor. Without clear identification of such zones and their geographic boundaries through designations and local awareness campaigns, any effective action for conservation is compromised.

1.2.2. Globalization and shifting priorities: Compounding these issues further has been the fast-paced urban change that Indian cities have experienced in the last twenty years. Triggered by the forces of globalization, the vanishing value for social and cultural milieu of existing fabric has created a complex set of developmental issues. As a result, the historic areas generally continue to decline, with their physical, social and economic functions stagnating and their present potential for any contribution to the city's image and economy remaining under utilized. “In grooming the fringes, as flag bearers of a new urban reality, the cores register attrition and eventual collapse in neglect, misplaced priorities or fragmented vision.”²² These quarters are forced to become poor cousins of the evolving city, a city once defined by its traditional urban neighborhoods, but are now considered unfashionable burdens on future growth and resources. This underplaying of significance and value has relegated to the background wholesome acknowledgement or action towards conserving or protecting traditional inner city neighborhoods.

1.2.3. Lack of institutional support: Population growth, changing life styles, urbanization and the forces of economic growth are merely symptoms of a much deeper malaise. These include “the lack of awareness, sensitivity and concern for the traditional values, incapacity of institutional framework, non-responsive organizations, flaws in planning, design and development, control process, legal and enforcement inadequacies and deficiencies in

²² Bose, Kamalika. “The Role of Responsible Urbanism in shaping the Future of Historic Cores: Exploring Possibilities through North Calcutta.” Presented in *What Makes India Urban*, Aedes Gallery, Berlin, 2008.

implementation and maintenance.”²³ Some of these issues are discussed later in this chapter and the next.

1.2.4. Ambivalence towards a ‘foreign’ heritage: India’s long history and colonial past has been fraught with invasions and foreign conquests. A provincial existence barred germination of the idea of a unified nation until independence. When the creators and the present custodians of a built legacy represent completely different cultural constructs, there emerges a lack of association and sometimes antagonism towards that legacy. “A sense of ownership is hard to establish in a country of such diversity, as each community has a special sense of pride for their own, and not the same sentiment for places associated with other communities and faiths.”²⁴

1.2 A ‘Monumental’ Bias: The low impact of charters and missions of key conservation bodies at the neighborhood level

A town is more than a collection of important buildings. To seek to preserve a limited number of outstanding buildings, while failing to retain and enhance the more modest streets and spaces which form their proper setting, has been likened to keeping the cherries out of the cake and throwing the cake away. The quality and character of a town reside in the sum of its multiple and often fragmented inter-relationships – in the spaces between buildings no less than in the buildings themselves; in its uses of land and juxtaposition of functions; the social mix of its communities these inter-relationships are not to be placed in a glass case, isolated in a place of safety...²⁵

²³ A K Jain, “Interface Between Traditional Urbanism And Legislative Framework.” *New Architecture and Urbanism: Development of Indian Traditions*, January 2010, Pg. 298-303.

²⁴ Punja, Shobhita. “What is Heritage Education?” In Mathur, Asha Rani (ed.) *Heritage And Development: Papers Presented at the 12th International Conference of National Trusts in Dec 2007*, New Delhi: INTACH, 2012. Pg. 462.

²⁵ McNulty, Robert H., and Stephen A. Kliment. *Neighborhood Conservation: A Handbook of Methods and Techniques*. Pg. 49.

The definition and general perception of what entails ‘urban built heritage’ in the context of Indian cities has often been limited to monumental architectural edifices associated with those atop the power structures of society. Possibly arising from a mindset formed by a long history of dominance and colonization, often only that architecture is often considered significant that carries an association with authority, be it royalty, military might or colonial subjugation. “Churches, temples, all sorts of religious buildings, palaces, castles, fortresses, historic city walls and gates and other types of institutional buildings”²⁶ have gained pre-eminence in discussions on what a culture and urban society should take pride in, protect and save. This understanding tends to exclude historic residential neighborhoods and city centers, which equally represent and contribute to the character of any urban heritage. That the city has an alternative urban and architectural history – one that was not constructed for or inhabited by the ruling powers but by those who were ruled over – needs to find a stronger voice in our contemporary notions seeking value in Indian cities of historic importance.

The conservation of this ‘non-monumental’ heritage thriving in the narrow alleys of India’s historic urban settlements is largely discussed and debated with nostalgic, moralistic or patrimonial tones. This recognizes and values the historical and cultural aspects of built heritage but sidetracks its contemporary continuity through preservation and planning tools. Internationally accepted approaches to rehabilitation of urban heritage tend to be derived from an economic logic but the perceived threats of driving out local communities, being capital driven and therefore profitable for stakeholders has not resonated well in India. Coupled with loose-ended government regulation and policies that provide inadequate incentives to beneficiaries critical to the revitalization process, opportunities are being lost daily.

²⁶ Steinberg, Florian. “Conservation and Rehabilitation of Urban Heritage in Developing Countries,” *Habitat International*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1996. Pg. 501.

The conservation movement in several parts of India has been slow to respond to these issues and challenges. It is perhaps symptomatic of roots emerging from a colonial idea of monument conservation where only exemplary buildings were recognized and thus became government responsibilities.²⁷ An assessment of the core mission and the thrust of key conservation-oriented organizations operating in India is necessary. This enables an evaluation of the structural impediments in the path of urban conservation and the designation of historic zones.

1.2.1 The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI):

Archaeological and historical pursuits in India began with the efforts of Sir William Jones, who assembled a group of antiquarians to form the Asiatic Society in 1784 in Kolkata, followed by Mumbai (1804) and Chennai (1818).²⁸ In 1871, under Alexander Cunningham, a Second Lieutenant of the Bengal Engineers, that the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) was established as a distinct department of the British government in India. A “complete search over the whole country, and a systematic record and description of all architectural and other remains that are either remarkable for their antiquity, or their beauty or their historical interest”²⁹ became the ASI’s core mission. This was lacking in scope and did not prescribe excavations or conservation. This changed in 1904 when Sir John Marshall was appointed its first Director General and The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act further empowered the ASI to protect monuments of national importance. The new mandate encompassed “excavation, of preservation or of repair, of epigraphy, or of the registration and description of monuments and ancient

²⁷ A. G. K. Menon, *Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India* (Working Papers) New Delhi: Architexturez Collaborative, 2004.

²⁸ History of the ASI: http://asi.nic.in/asi_aboutus_history.asp, (accessed 14 March, 2013)

²⁹ Ibid, ASI website, (accessed 14 March, 2013)

remains. It would co-ordinate and bring up-to-date the local surveys and reports and should in addition present to Government an annual report.”³⁰

The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act was passed in 1958, and extended protection to monuments of national importance. Different states adopted similar Acts for monuments of local significance, consolidating the idea that architectural heritage consisted only of exemplary buildings whose protection was primarily the government’s responsibility. Today the ASI is under the Ministry of Culture of the Indian Government, operating under 24 Circles at the State levels, and retains its original mandate of maintaining ancient monuments and archaeological sites. The ASI is unconcerned about the vernacular environment. For instance, in the Chandni Chowk area of Shahjahanabad, it manages the Red Fort (also a World Heritage Site) among other prominent sites, which excludes the deteriorating historic neighborhoods along Chandni Chowk and its surrounds.³¹ This lack of institutional support has proved detrimental in protecting traditional settlements and urban neighborhoods, failing to ingrain their value in the thought process of conservation in India.

Having acquired a reputation of international standing, the ASI has, in the recent decades come under much criticism for its inflexibility and reluctance to change with the times. For instance, it is staffed largely by archaeologists, historians and some engineers, but, surprisingly, not conservation architects, as is the practice the world over.³² Under it is an exemplary legacy of around 5000 monuments and archaeological sites of national importance. Another 4,000 are being protected by the State Departments of Archaeology. But these numbers pale in

³⁰ Op. Cit. ASI website, http://asi.nic.in/asi_aboutus_history.asp, (accessed 14 March, 2013).

³¹ Chalana, Manish. “*Global Heritage News: Lessons from India and China*,” *Heritage & Development*. 2012. Pg. 32.

³² Op. Cit. Menon, *Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India* (Working Papers) New Delhi: Architexturez Collaborative, 2004.

comparison with those in Britain, which has over 500,000, listed buildings, of which approximately 30,000 are considered Grade I. It is reluctant to add to the list of protected monuments, being constrained by lack of funds and caretakers.³³

A greater cause for concern is the insensitive treatment meted out by the ASI towards living heritage and local communities that occupy areas around protected sites. Equipped with a ‘limited range of paradigms for managing heritage sites,’ this poses both the sites and the communities to high risk. This is evident from the recent turn of events at the ‘Hampi Group of Monuments,’ ruins of the medieval Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara (in Karnataka), which was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1986. In July 2011, the ASI assumed control of the Virupaksha Temple and Hampi Bazaar, chief entities of the Sacred Center of this archaeological site (Figure 8). It immediately declared all habitats of local Hampi residents to be squatters, without any rights, and their stalls, shops, restaurants, and dwellings were deemed illegal encroachments, including those living there for generations. The local district commissioner, working with the ASI, issued orders for the bazaar to be cleared and the surrounding houses to be demolished (Figure 9). Backed by the Departments of Culture and Tourism, sites, like the bazaar today, are “protected”—cleared of all encumbrances such as previous inhabitants, set in pleasant garden compounds, and surrounded by walls and gates.³⁴ In upholding sanctity of a site by purging it of people and use obliterates “living heritage,” where past structures of different types can be rehabilitated according to accepted conservation standards, and adapted for everyday use.

³³ Ibid. Menon, 1989.

³⁴ Fritz, John & George Michell, “Living Heritage at Risk,” *Archaeology Magazine*, 5 November, 2012, <http://www.archaeology.org/issues/53-1211/letter-from/247-india-living-heritage-at-risk>, (accessed 20 May, 2013).



Figure 8: Hampi Bazaar in January 2010, with Virupaksha temple in the background and residential and commercial settlements along the historic colonnade. Source: the author



Figure 9: The Hampi Bazaar in July 2011 after destruction of all community occupied establishments leading up to the temple. Source: Surendra Kumar

1.2.2 Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH):

The establishment of the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) in 1984, in the form of a registered body, by then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and “cultural tsarina”³⁵ Pupul Jayakar is viewed as a milestone to institutionalize the practice of conservation

³⁵ Kuldip Singh, Obituary: Pupul Jayakar, *The Independent*, 2 April 1997.

outside the government fold.³⁶ Its objectives span across conservation of architectural, cultural, material and natural heritage, capacity building, conservation training and craft documentation. “The role of protecting living heritage, developing heritage policy and regulations, and making legal interventions where necessary”³⁷ is also central to its core mission. Operating through state and city level chapters, INTACH has achieved much success in several spheres of its mandate. And yet its ability to conserve “the legally unprotected architectural heritage of the country..... remains uncharted territory: there are no guidelines to plan and monitor the conservation of this category of heritage”³⁸ in spite of several studies and recommendations.

INTACH’s boldest initiative, representative of a marked departure from ideals of the ASI, was to identify and establish heritage zones, as an area of overlap between the activities of ASI and local Town Planning Departments. Reports for (a) formulating the special imperatives of the heritage zone, (b) having the proposed heritage zone notified officially, and (c) overseeing the implementation of recommendations and guidelines were laid down. INTACH identified about 50 heritage zones, though the work did not proceed beyond the study stage in most instances.³⁹ A. G. Krishna Menon, Convenor of INTACH, Delhi Chapter, wrote in an essay, about the complexity and expanded scope of work envisaged in conserving heritage zones. Beyond the technical protection of individual buildings lies an attitude and expertise in dealing with a fragile web connecting people; activities and monuments, under duress to change in the hope of a better life. The inadequacy of conservation professionals with requisite interdisciplinary framework for operation to undertake such a task is a huge deterrent leading to

³⁶ Ibid. Menon, 1989.

³⁷ INTACH Mission Statement, <http://www.intach.org/about-mission.asp?links=about1>, (accessed 5 March, 2013).

³⁸ Op. Cit. Menon, 2004.

³⁹ Ibid. Menon, 2004.

heritage zone projects of INTACH remaining only slightly better informed than government's master plans.⁴⁰

In 2002, INTACH conducted a workshop on formulating a National Policy for Heritage Conservation and Management, which identified the need for a national charter for conservation. Their recommendations became focal points of an INTACH-AusHeritage workshop to discuss an Indian Charter for Conservation from March 24-27, 2004 in New Delhi. At the concluding session, a draft structure for the proposed Indian Charter⁴¹ was outlined and slated for presentation at the INTACH National Convention in November 2004. This charter is primarily intended to guide those working with INTACH and therefore, relates only to unprotected monuments, historic sites and other aspects of tangible and intangible heritage.⁴²

1.2.3 Foreign Charters & International Organizations Working in India:

Several international documents call for the integration of historic areas with contemporary life. The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Charter for the conservation of historic towns is a coherent policy of economic and social development and of urban and regional planning. But even this broad vision envisages conservation as a subordinate activity within the wider development process.⁴³ On the other hand, securing UNESCO's World Heritage Site designation creates eligibility for World Heritage Funds, attracts global attention and generates considerable tourism revenue for the host countries. Resource-poor and developing economies often hold the largest quantum of heritage sites without the internal resources to manage them well. Designation through UNESCO can ensue

⁴⁰ Op. Cit. Menon, 1989.

⁴¹ Refer Appendix 1, Pg. 169.

⁴² Op. Cit. Menon, 2004.

⁴³ Op. Cit. Menon, 1989.

protection, access to funds and availability of greater resources that lower threats to heritage sites.⁴⁴ “UNESCO's definition of *patrimonio mondiale* (world heritage) includes everything from industrial to maritime heritage, but the conservation movement in India is only just beginning to recognize categories other than residential and institutional.”⁴⁵ UNESCO's inability to directly engage with citizen-led initiatives and compulsions to function only with State parties restricts its reach and usefulness for unprotected built heritage in historic neighborhoods. Designating major monuments as World Heritage Sites further reinforces the old paradigm of heritage management, encouraging countries to overlook other types of built heritage outside the monument-site purview.

“This approach undermines the contributions of the larger society, one without power or resources to create great edifices, but nonetheless with determination to shape the built environment to reflect their needs and aspirations. Secondly the interpretation of history largely from monuments presents a contrived and imagined past that is grander than actuality. World heritage designations need to encourage a more inclusive approach to heritage management that addresses monuments and sites in their larger context of districts and neighborhoods – which tend to remain desolate, quite literally in the backyards of the World Heritage Sites.”⁴⁶

India's recent efforts in acquiring World Heritage City status for Delhi and Ahmedabad are still under review. It has yet to be seen what tangible benefits such recognition would entail for the historic urban neighborhoods of these cities.

⁴⁴ Chalana, Manish. “Global Heritage News: Lessons from India and China,” *Heritage & Development*. Pg. 34.

⁴⁵ Shah, Jagan. “My Heritage, Your Business,” *Tehelka*, 20 October 2007; extracted from <http://hnra.blogspot.in/2007/11/my-heritage-your-business-by-jagan-shah.html>; (accessed 20 February, 2013).

⁴⁶ Ibid. Chalana. Pg. 35.

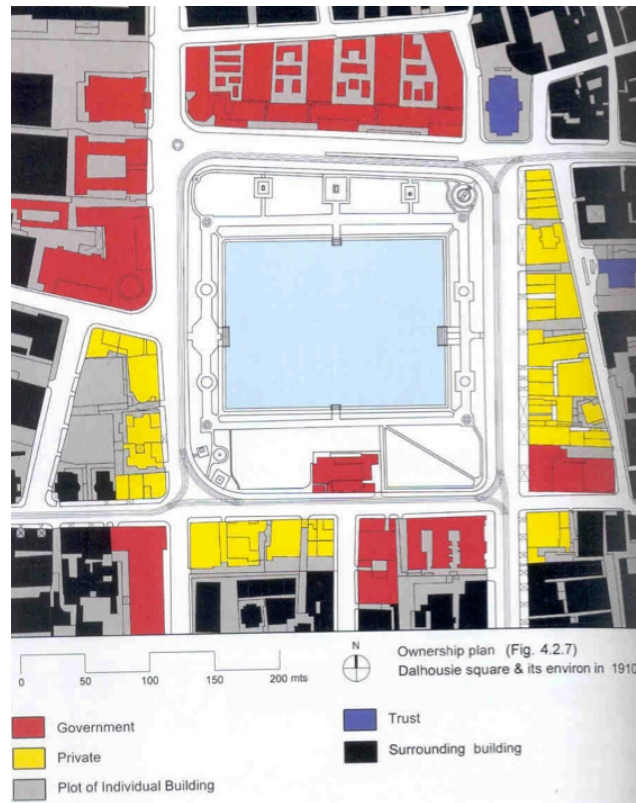


Figure 10: Map of Dalhousie Square Heritage Zone in Kolkata showing ownership patterns of all heritage buildings around the central water tank.

Source: Saurin Shah, “*Exploring British Colonial Square: Dalhousie, Calcutta.*” School of Architecture, CEPT University Undergraduate Thesis, 2004.

International bodies have also attempted to trigger interest and action by infusing the first “shot of blood” required to establish and conserve heritage zones. From there it has been up to local governments and citizen action to chart the future path. A case in point was enlisting Dalhousie Square in Kolkata, the erstwhile colonial administrative and commercial center and present seat of the state Government of West Bengal, onto the World Monument Fund’s (WMF) watch of ‘endangered heritage zones’ in 2004 and 2006 (Figure 10). “Following Watch-listing, the Government of West Bengal pledged to preserve the site; the municipality created its own list of landmarks, 55 of which were located in the Dalhousie Square Heritage Zone. In 2005, WMF arranged a strategy-planning workshop for stakeholders and also contributed funding for a pilot

project; the façade restoration of St. John’s Church.”⁴⁷ Nine years on, the vision of this heritage zone, once again representative of the city’s monumental edifices alone has been limited to a mere beautification project. It stops short of effectively utilizing urban conservation as a vehicle for repurposing older building typologies for contemporary use and relevance.

By adopting a Victorian style theme, replete with imported granite cobblestones for pavements, and the installation of period styled telephone boxes, railings, lampposts and decorative street furniture,⁴⁸ the attempt to cosmetically recreate was stronger than to rehabilitate. Funded by the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), with a sanctioned budget of Rs 20.6 crore in 2009, restoration of buildings in the zone would be dealt with only in stage 3 (yet to begin). It is also unclear how vacant and abandoned properties within the zone will be reprogrammed and whether the efforts will move beyond a physical facelift. Recently these aesthetic swashes too have suffered a major blow after the ruling political party’s irrational citywide beautification drive to paint, in a shade of blue and white, all urban and architectural elements in Kolkata. The city mayor “confirmed it was a government policy and insisted it looked just fine in Dalhousie Square too, stating - so what if it is a heritage zone? Dalhousie Square is part of the city. If we have taken a policy decision on the city's color scheme, the entire city has to conform to it,”⁴⁹ This example clearly demonstrates that any action by international organizations can be nullified in the long run unless they work closely with local agencies and are empowered to enforce regulations on historic areas.

⁴⁷ Dalhousie Square, Kolkata – Project Details. <http://www.wmf.org/project/dalhousie-square>; (accessed 21 February 2013).

⁴⁸ Das, Madhuparna. “Dalhousie Square: Work Begins to Restore the Old Charm,” *Indian Express*, 22 April 2010. (accessed 21 February 2013).

⁴⁹ Niyogi, Shubhro. “Heritage Zone Turns Blue.” *Times of India*, Kolkata, 10 March 2012. (accessed 21 February 2013).

Heritage initiatives directly impacting the quality of urban community life and local livelihood through urban renewal were first proposed by the Geneva-based Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC). Through its Historic Cities Program⁵⁰, the AKTC signed a Public-Private Partnership Memorandum of Understanding (PPP MoU) in July 2007, between the Archaeological Survey of India, the Central Public Works Department, the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, and the Aga Khan Foundation.⁵¹ The project unified three zones into an urban conservation area called the Nizamuddin Heritage Precinct in New Delhi, comprising Hazrat Nizamuddin Basti⁵², Sunder Nursery and the World Heritage Site of Humayun's Tomb. The first of these is a self-contained urban settlement with landmark structures dating to the Mughal and pre-Mughal periods⁵³, which are well integrated within the dense community fabric (Figure 11). Aimed to bring about socio-economic development for the local community, it mandated "that conservation should generate livelihoods and make meaningful improvements in the way ordinary folks live. It is not enough to bring back monuments. The community must be

⁵⁰ The Aga Khan Historic Cities Program (AKHCP) promotes the conservation and re-use of buildings and public spaces in historic cities in the Muslim World. It undertakes the restoration and rehabilitation of historic structures and public spaces in ways that can spur social, economic and cultural development. Individual project briefs go beyond mere technical restoration to address the questions of the social and environmental context, adaptive re-use, institutional sustainability and training. <http://www.akdn.org/hcp/>; (accessed on 8 May 2013).

⁵¹ Urban Renewal in Delhi, India: The Humayun's Tomb - Sunder Nursery - Hazrat Nizamuddin Basti Urban Renewal Project, <http://www.akdn.org/hcp/india.asp> (accessed 21 February 2013)

⁵² The 700-year-old Basti is the densest ensemble of medieval Islamic buildings in Delhi and under the conservation arm of the project, the foundation is working towards the restoration of structures like the Nizamuddin Dargah, Baoli, Chaunsath Khamba and other structures that dot the area, including urban open spaces as parks and playgrounds. The AKTC project receives financial support from the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, Sir Ratan Tata Trust, Ford Foundation, US Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation, World Monuments Fund, German Embassy, and HUDCO.

⁵³ Hazrat Nizamuddin Basti: Urban Context, http://www.nizamuddinrenewal.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=55&Itemid=141, (accessed 21 February 2013).

involved”⁵⁴ through conservation of monuments and the rehabilitation of open spaces. Urban improvements in the form of landscaped parks, new public toilets, a health clinic and public school refurbishment were part of larger socio-economic initiatives.



Figure 11: Tomb of Atgah Khan, also part of the restoration initiative, today stands within a mix of old and new construction typologies within the Basti. Several families in the neighborhood use its courtyards as dwelling space. Source: Nizamuddin Basti Urban Renewal Initiative

AKTC did initially meet with grave resistance from resident families on matters of a topographical survey of the area and relocation of eighteen families who lived in dilapidated conditions over the Nizamuddin Baoli (stepwell)⁵⁵ (Figure 12). Two years of negotiation and gentle persuasion later, seven principal streets were identified for improvement including infrastructure upgrades through streetlights, road repair and drainage. AKTC also provided 40 per cent of the renovation cost in the materials. When the head of the household was a woman,

⁵⁴ “Going Wow in Nizamuddin,” at Civil Society Online, Dec 2012, <http://www.civilsocietyonline.com/pages/Details.aspx?237>; (accessed on 8 May 2013).

⁵⁵ Ibid. (accessed on 8 May 2013).

60 per cent of the cost was provided. About 95 houses were repaired.⁵⁶ The project has almost reached completion with cultural activities underway to mark the revitalization of rich traditions of music, art and literature associated with the area, but it has been mired in controversy with the traditional communities.



Figure 12: Accretive housing development within the Nizamuddin Basti in New Delhi has resulted in historic structures being occupied and ensconced within a dense residential fabric. This view is of the Nizamuddin Baoli, a medieval stepwell restored as part of the AKTC project.
Source: Nizamuddin Basti Urban Renewal Initiative

The Hazrat Nizamuddin Residents Association (HNRA), a registered body representing basti residents took objection to several clauses of the PPP MoU. Citing low consultation with local residents about project objectives, impact and projected displacement, they claimed only a powerful local lobby was approached for approvals. Clause 4 of the MoU, outlining the role and obligations of public parties, seemed to be most disputed where:

⁵⁶ Ibid, Civil Society Online, Dec 2012, <http://www.civilsocietyonline.com/pages/Details.aspx?237>; (accessed on 8 May 2013).

4.1 The Public Parties shall be responsible for and ensure the following:⁵⁷

(v) Remove or cause to be removed, obstacles whether physical, administrative or other to the advancement of Project implementation work which has been approved.

(viii) Should it be determined by all parties, to be in vital interest of the project to provide new housing for the few families presently occupying heritage sites, all parties will explore options for providing suitable land in close proximity.

This clause indicates that, where a significant component of demolition and displacement would take place, the HNRA should have been an equal stakeholder in the dialogue process. It has felt shortchanged. Even when AKTC has been an involved initiator with local and public partners, such examples demonstrate the on-ground realities of working with historic settlements and communities. Land, ownership and displacement emerge as key points of contention and their resolution is key to the revitalization process.

1.3 Conclusion

Indian cities today physically consist of three distinct entities: the historic town, the newly planned and unplanned developments, and the ‘spontaneous’, informal growth of the urban poor, both within and at the periphery of the cities. These entities are organically related,⁵⁸ overlap over service and infrastructure, but have distinct urban problems and challenges that need to be independently tackled. The historic core, with a complex layering time and cultures, is often perceived with a frozen-in-time philosophy, thus accelerating decay without arresting unplanned and incongruous new development. This eventually obliterates historic integrity and

⁵⁷ Residents Comments on MoU PPP, HNRA, 14 February 2008. <http://hnra.blogspot.com/> (accessed 21 February 2013).

⁵⁸ Menon, A. G. Krishna. “Conservation in India - A Search for Direction.” Mumbai: Architecture + Design, 1989. Pg. 23.

character. The contemporary conditions of historic neighborhoods and urban precincts should mandate a simultaneous identification of new typologies rather than dwell in the “postcard city,” one that only flights of nostalgia momentarily recreate.⁵⁹ They are embedded as much in planning processes as they are in socio-historical narratives. The concept of ‘wicked problems’ as expounded by Horst Rittel, Professor of the Science of Design at the University of California at Berkeley, in his seminal paper titled “Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning,” can be closely applied to this context. Urban conservation in Indian cities is one such ‘wicked problem’ where “there is nothing like the undisputable public good; there is no objective definition of equity; policies that respond to social problems cannot be meaningfully correct or false; and it makes no sense to talk about “optimal solutions” to social problems unless severe qualifications are imposed first. Even worse, there are no “solutions” in the sense of definitive and objective answers.”⁶⁰

In such a condition, the identification of contemporary engines that will drive this process, by establishing an appropriate toolkit for conservation and rehabilitation of unprotected historic neighborhoods, its people and resources is then imperative.⁶¹ Embracing social, economic and physical change in any historic environment needs to be integral to the conservation movement, especially when the creator of that environment and its present custodians represent completely different cultural constructs. This change also requires to positively impact urban conservation and local communities, to enhance and renew the significant but depleting resources. Antiquated and narrow mandates of agencies such as the ASI and state government

⁵⁹ Mehrotra, Rahul. 2004, Pg. 26.

⁶⁰ Rittel, Horst & Melvin Webber, “Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning,” in *Policy Sciences*, Issue 4, Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1973. Pg 155-169

⁶¹ Op. Cit. Mehrotra, 2004, Pg. 26.

are unable to keep pace with the challenges and would benefit from rapid evolution. National and international non-profits working in the area, with good intentions, need greater empowerment and involvement at the local level to involve the various voices that impact an urban conservation project.

CHAPTER 2:

THE STORY SO FAR: INVESTIGATING HOW LEGISLATION CAN STEER ECONOMIC INCENTIVES TO RESHAPE HISTORIC QUARTERS

Summary: This chapter assesses the impact and loopholes within the legal and regulatory apparatus at the National and State levels, which extend protection and rehabilitation opportunities to historic urban neighborhoods. Implications of the pioneering 1995 Mumbai Heritage Regulations and their role in carving a path for similar legislation in other States is then discussed. Local municipal guidelines, economic incentives and tourism policies of some Indian States that demonstrate a stronger inclination towards saving their historic cities, are further reviewed. Finally three key issues are identified as critical to the facilitation of urban conservation at the neighborhood level through the use of economic incentives. These are identified and discussed as: re-signifying urban heritage precincts (Mumbai), combating gentrification (Ahmedabad, Surat, Hyderabad); and providing impetus to heritage tourism (Rajasthan, Kerala).

2.1 Stewardship via Legislation & Regulations: Examining Paths Charted by Indian Cities

“The conferring of statutory protection upon buildings or areas, as allowed and implicitly encouraged by legislation, incurs in itself no public costs but contains an open-ended permanent commitment to the maintenance, renovation and rehabilitation of the area as a whole. As designated districts are assessed as a totality regardless of the merits of individual buildings and structures, it offers greater control and regulation to building stock that is not of outstanding

architectural merit. This variety of resources can then be used for a number of purposes to economically revitalize the community.”⁶²

Demolition, incongruous additions and uncontrolled development have emerged as the largest factors affecting conservation. Generally speaking the reaction to all of these problems leads to legislation but, to ensure that the proper conservation plan works effectively, a system of administrative checks and balances is needed.⁶³ It is critical for administrative mechanisms to display a level of transparency in their functioning.

Another critical factor for effective legislation involves reorienting architectural heritage into larger urban planning processes. When campaigning for the designation of Mumbai’s Fort precinct in the 1990s, Rahul Mehrotra, Executive Member of Urban Design Research Institute and architect emphasized on the creation of bylaws and policies that were specific to individual urban areas as opposed to a blanket approach. In this fashion, government planning agencies could then recognize differences in areas within the city, through a distinct response, and therein support an appropriate framework for urban conservation. Unfortunately, beyond the Acts that authorize the ASI to protect and manage individual monuments and sites, there has been little concerted effort to conserve historic urban neighborhoods, through regulation.⁶⁴

There is a need to create enabling legal and administrative frameworks, aided by governance machinery that can professionalize the public management of culture. Only a few local municipalities have thus enacted and implemented policies in any significant way. The dominance of central or state governments in the urban policy-thinking arena impedes action at

⁶² Tiesdell, Steven, Taner Oc & Time Heath. *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters*. Oxford: Architectural Press, 2001, Pg. 3.

⁶³ Mehrotra, Rahul & Sandhya Savant. *The Fort Precinct in Bombay: Conserving an Image Centre – Vol II*. Mumbai: UDRI, 1994. Pg. 8.

⁶⁴ Based on Chainani, *Heritage & Development*. Pg. 309.

the local level.⁶⁵ This dramatically plays out through heritage legislation – and though preservation law is most effective at the local level, yet that level is the least empowered to protect or regulate in India. In some cases, a deeper investigation into city municipal laws has revealed provisions already on the books that could be applicable for conservation purposes.

Two examples are:

1. The Bombay Municipal Corporation Act of 1888

Sec: 354 AA⁶⁶ – regulation of certain classes of buildings in particular localities.

(I) The Commissioner may give public notice (a) that in any streets or portions of streets. The elevation and construction of the frontage of all buildings thereafter erected or re-erected shall in respect of their architectural features be such as the corporation may consider suitable to the locality.

2. Andhra Pradesh Municipalities Act of 1965

Section 205: Power of Council to regulate future construction of certain classes of buildings in particular streets or localities.⁶⁷ This Municipality notification is applicable to streets, precincts, heritage buildings, heritage committees, advertisement control, land use control and maintenance of buildings.

2.1.1 National Preservation Legislation and Policies

The existence of combined policies for conservation of monuments and that of other heritage zones including inner city neighborhoods would be ideal. Monuments are rarely devoid of a local historic context around them and legislation that is solely limited to monuments often contains clauses that can be crippling and detrimental to the future of the site itself. In 2010, the Indian Parliament enacted the Ancient Monument and Archaeological Sites and Remains

⁶⁵ Yudhishtir Raj Issar, “Cultures and Cities: Some Policy Implications,” *Cultures and Globalization: Cities, Cultural Policy and Governance*. London: Sage Publications, 2012. Pg. 333.

⁶⁶ This is part of the local municipal law in Mumbai where the clause was inserted in 1950.

⁶⁷ Ibid. Pg. 333.

(Amendment and Validation) Act. This constituted the National Monument Authority with a mandate to create local area plans for all protected monuments to rationalize the prohibited and regulated areas. Clauses in the Act specify that, “members of the locality not reside within 100 meters of a protected monument,”⁶⁸ which display a suspicious nature towards any local community. The ASI’s strict rules prohibiting alterations, repairs or additions in existing properties within 100-meter and 300-meter zones around a protected monument are often viewed as isolating people from heritage sites.⁶⁹ In an attempt to arrest encroachments and illegal construction, these provisions often create an unhealthy sanitization of sites and push out local communities as discussed in the Hampi Bazaar destruction (refer to Chapter 1).

The ‘Monuments and Antiquities Act of 1961,’ an amendment to an earlier Act from 1901, was also framed by the ASI and enacted in most states. It automatically channels all external funding for restoration to monuments alone. For instance, Clause 15 of ‘The Punjab Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 1964’ states that “the Director may receive voluntary contributions towards the cost of maintaining a protected monument” from public or private sector donors “provided that no contribution received under this section shall be applied to any purpose other than the purpose for which it was contributed.”⁷⁰ Such funding, managed by the ASI or National Culture Fund⁷¹ is

⁶⁸ Nanda, Ratish. “Conserve Without Hurting,” *Mail Today*, 11 November, 2011.

⁶⁹ The Act has set out a two-year prison term or a Rs 1 lakh fine, or both, for any construction in both prohibited and regulated areas. A prohibited area is 100 meters from the edge of a monument and the regulated zone is a further 200 meters beyond the prohibited area. Changes to existing properties in these areas will need prior permission from a proposed National Monuments Authority. This approach to provide more sticks than carrots deters communities from being pro-conservation in a longer range.

⁷⁰ The Punjab Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 1964.” http://asi.nic.in/nmma/nmma_punjab01.pdf, Pg. 8. (accessed 6 May 2013).

⁷¹ The National Culture Fund (NCF) was established in 1996, as a trust under the Ministry of Culture to explore innovative patterns in cultural funding. Under the NCF it is possible

inaccessible to non-protected heritage buildings and areas. The public sector is further obligated to maintain any listed heritage building that it occupies. It was not until 1995 that the central government began considering regulations for other forms of built heritage and prepared a draft framework.

Government of India Draft Model Regulations⁷²: This was the aforementioned regulatory framework for uniform development of national and state guidelines on various facets of heritage conservation; it has remained inflexible to accommodate locally specific requirements. It is expected of local governments, when revising or developing region specific regulations, to conform to the principles laid down in Model Regulations. In 1995, the central Ministry of Environments & Forests drafted these guidelines and circulated them to all State Governments and Union Territories.⁷³ In the absence of adequate follow up by the Ministry and low advocacy at the state level, only a few cities have implemented them, namely, Nagpur, Delhi, Mahabaleshwar, Panchgani, Matheran, Ahmedabad, and Gandhinagar. Proposals for Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh, and Rajasthan, all being improved versions of the Government of India model are in various stages of implementation. In 2007, Shyam Chainani, noted environmental

for a donor to identify a project and a monument along with any specific aspect of funding and also an agency for the execution of the project. All contributions to NCF are entitled to a tax rebate Section 80 G of the Income Tax Act. Currently, many leading corporate houses, and trusts are helping in conservation work at Taj Mahal, Jantar Mantar, Jaisalmer Fort, etc. http://asi.nic.in/asi_ncf.asp; (accessed 6 May 2013)

⁷² Based on Chainani, Shyam. *Heritage Legislation Policy for India*. New Delhi: Heritage and Development, 2012 & *Heritage Conservation: Legislative & Organizational Policies for India*, New Delhi: INTACH, 2007. Chainani was founder of the Bombay Environmental Action Group (BEAG) and instrumental in proposing heritage regulations for Mumbai.

⁷³ These are considered to have several advantages over the Mumbai heritage regulations by consolidating into one document the provisions of six gazette notifications and directives. They also plug a number of loopholes, which were discovered after Mumbai regulations were operational for over a decade. Natural heritage was additionally included here.

activist and urban planning pioneer from Mumbai made further recommendations to the Central Government, that could strengthen heritage legislation.⁷⁴

2.1.2 The Mumbai Heritage Regulations of 1995

As discussed in Chapter 1, the ASI's myopic approach to protection has drastically limited its jurisdiction over built heritage. Flaws in "the Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 1951 established a cut off date of 100 years as a qualifying factor for protection, thereby eliminating most of Mumbai's urban heritage."⁷⁵ To counter this, the Urban Design Research Institute (UDRI) together with Bombay Environment Action Group (BEAG) lobbied the state government and created detailed studies to petition for area conservation legislation as part of the city's heritage laws. In 1995 this legislation was accepted, as the 'Heritage Regulations for Greater Bombay,' the first in India where eight areas were designated and seven additional zones identified for protection.⁷⁶ The notification was gazetted as per regulation No 67 Resolution No DCR 1090/3197/RDP/UD-11 dated 21st April 1995.⁷⁷

Since then the definition of heritage as adapted from the Government of Maharashtra notification in 2001 has read as, "buildings, artifacts, structures, areas and precincts of historic or aesthetic or architectural or cultural significance and natural features of environmental significance or of scenic beauty including but not restricted to sacred groves, hills, hillocks,

⁷⁴ Refer Appendix 2, Pg.171.

⁷⁵ Mehrotra Rahul & Abha Narain Lambah. *Conservation after legislation: issues for Mumbai*, Mumbai: Urban Design Research Institute, 2004.

⁷⁶ Mehrotra, Rahul. "Bazaars in Victorian Arcades: Conserving Bombay's Colonial Heritage" in *Historic Cities and Sacred Sites – Cultural roots for Urban Futures*, ed. Ismail Serageldin, Ephim Shluger, Joan Martin-Brown. USA: The World Bank, 2001, Pg. 158.

⁷⁷ Dilawari, Vikas, "Mumbai: An Overview of Policies and their Impact on the Historic Fabric," *Context*, Spring/Summer 2008. Pg. 169.

water bodies (and the areas adjoining the same), open areas, wooded areas, etc.”⁷⁸ The legislation⁷⁹ enabled 633 buildings and architectural works to be listed as heritage buildings. It granted legislative protection and regulated alterations to their built fabric by means of a grading procedure (Figure 13). The urban fabric was further delineated into heritage precincts, like the Fort area and Banganga, defining entire neighborhoods as areas of urban significance and historic value, and therefore worthy of conservation. Since the passage of the legislation, property owners have been working with planners to grasp the legislation and facilitate a number of projects. Besides achieving improvements in the physical environment, these initiatives have shifted the debate from architectural conservation to urban conservation—drawing the movement closer to the planning process.”⁸⁰



Figure 13: The Fort precinct in Mumbai was delineated through a grading process that listed heritage buildings and areas by individual and collective architectural merit, following enactment of Heritage Regulations in 1995.

Source: The Fort Precinct in Bombay - Conserving an Image Centre, 1994

⁷⁸ Op. Cit. Chainani, Pg. 309.

⁷⁹ Refer Appendix 3, Pg. 172.

⁸⁰ Op. Cit. Mehrotra, Rahul. 2001, Pg. 159.

Setting up of the Mumbai Heritage Conservation Committee (MHCC): The Mumbai legislation of 1995 also set up a statutory advisory committee, as reviewers for the city Municipal Commissioner. The MHCC advises on proposals related to individually listed heritage structures and precincts. Under it, the Municipal Heritage Conservation Cell was formed, as an in-house unit that supervised repairs and restoration of city-owned heritage buildings, of the civic and institutional types. The city authorities have evolved a five-year comprehensive plan for restoration of all heritage structures owned by the Municipal Corporation. The fund allocation towards this has been projected as Rs. 25 crores each financial year, before moving onto structures and precincts that are not owned by it.⁸¹ A panel of conservation architects and project management consultants guide and execute restorations such as the revitalization of the Dr. Bhau Daji Lad Museum.⁸² A lack of alternative strategies to fund other privately-owned heritage structures, has proven detrimental where as per estimates by UDRI (Urban Design Research Institute), about 30 per cent of these listed structures have already been demolished or are about to be. Cyrus Guzder, a former member of the MHCC opined that ‘finally if the owner insisted on demolition, unless he was given financial help the MHCC would capitulate, as it had no access to repair funds or grants.’⁸³ The acute need for financial assistance was palpable and yet a decade after the Committee was created, it had no such access for assisting special cases where private

⁸¹ Based on ‘Mumbai City Development Plan 2005 - 2025,’ Section 14: Heritage Conservation; [http://www.mcgm.gov.in/irj/go/km/docs/documents/MCGM%20Department%20List/City%20Engineer/Deputy%20City%20Engineer%20\(Planning%20and%20Design\)/City%20Development%20Plan/Heritage%20Conservation.pdf](http://www.mcgm.gov.in/irj/go/km/docs/documents/MCGM%20Department%20List/City%20Engineer/Deputy%20City%20Engineer%20(Planning%20and%20Design)/City%20Development%20Plan/Heritage%20Conservation.pdf) (accessed 5 March, 2013).

⁸² The Dr. Bhau Daji Lad Mumbai City Museum (formerly the Victoria and Albert Museum) is the oldest museum in the city. Situated in South Mumbai, it was originally established in 1855 to house decorative and industrial arts.

⁸³ ‘Difficult to Entirely Preserve a Dynamic, Growing City,’ *Indian Express*, 17 September 2012.

owners could not afford to repair their heritage buildings.⁸⁴ The body also needed greater autonomy to create a framework for punitive action because fines for the violations of regulations was insufficient to drive any desire for conservation.⁸⁵

2.1.3 Legislation Adopted by other States and Their Status

As per the Indian constitution, only states (and not the center) can enact legislation relating to land and local governance. The Central government can only govern railways, national highways and other communication within the seven Union Territories. The State Town and Country Planning Acts can define the laws that safeguard unprotected heritage at the metropolitan, regional and area plan levels. This along with master planning processes by local authorities, development agencies and municipal corporations (through development control rules and byelaws) can comprehensively address conservation.⁸⁶

With this idea in mind, the Ford Foundation funded the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority to undertake a pioneering study in Hyderabad during 1981-84 that resulted in a set of comprehensive proposals and guidelines that could be replicated elsewhere. The city then amended its building regulations, to include the designation of Heritage Buildings and Heritage Precincts and by regulating development proposals related to such properties and areas. This change in local law came into effect in 1995, just a few months after the Mumbai regulations were passed. Hyderabad Municipal Corporation Act 1955: Sec 463 – Enforcing architectural control in a locality: By-Law 15 (2) and 16 of HMC By-laws 1981, states that:

⁸⁴ Based on “Concluding Notes – The 21st Century: What is the Future of Mumbai’s Past” in *Conservation after Legislation*. Mehrotra & Lambah, pg. 146.

⁸⁵ Ibid. based on opinion by Nayan Shah, pg. 146.

⁸⁶ Jain, Shikha (Dronah). *Heritage Legislation In India: An Overview*. Presentation at IHCN: Second Biennial Conference. Hyderabad: 18 – 20 December 2008.

1. No buildings of historical or architectural importance shall be demolished unless approved by the Authority; 2. Control of aesthetics – regulation of constructions in a locality⁸⁷

Despite these examples only Kolkata, Delhi and Pune initiated similar measures by 2007.⁸⁸

2.2 Incentivizing the Rehabilitation Process: The Economics of Urban Conservation

It is in the historic cores that the notions of heritage are rooted, not in the citizenry's memory of the past but in its continuation into the present.⁸⁹ In the absence of effective economic tools that instill greater value and utility to aging architecture, a holistic revitalization is difficult to achieve and efforts remain sporadic and piece-meal. Making an economic case for conservation by empowering key stakeholders has been proposed repeatedly by progressive practitioners and advocates but the idea falls on deaf ears. A key stumbling block has been the lack of political will and the absence of economic incentives where conservation is viewed as a key developmental tool for places and communities.⁹⁰ An approach where conservation transcends the mere pickling of the past but plays an active role in the future of cities and local communities through renewal and rehabilitation of historic cores, can largely be sustained when driven by an economic logic.

This issue gained traction through a seminar organized by the Urban Design Research Institute (UDRI) in Mumbai in 2000, titled 'Conservation After Legislation.'⁹¹ Several panelists

⁸⁷ Op. Cit. Shorey. Pg. 340.

⁸⁸ Refer Appendix 4, Pg. 173. This table enlists the status and nature of state-level heritage legislation and provides clues to their areas of application.

⁸⁹ Nagpal, Swati. "The Gomti Riverfront in Lucknow, India: Creating a Landscape of Heritage." *Heritage & Development*, 2012. Pg. 410.

⁹⁰ Dilawari, Vikas. "Two Decades of Conservation: Lessons from Mumbai." *Heritage & Development*, 2012. Pg. 407 - 08.

⁹¹ Mehrotra Rahul & Abha Narain Lambah. *Conservation after legislation: issues for Mumbai*, Mumbai: Urban Design Research Institute, 2004. Seminar proposals.

believed that detailed regulations could be rendered ineffective, when delinked from non-legal strategies that promoted conservation. In the absence of economic gains for the stakeholders, legislation could only partially attain its objectives. Preservationists in India tend to negatively perceive the merits of economic benefit through conservation. Attitudes that link it to vested interests of private developers and government bodies can derail the long-term viability and restrict the scope of the field. At this seminar, London and New York City were viewed as examples that interwove economics into their preservation practice.

In these western cities, the demand for an economic justification for rehabilitation is by those who are most empowered to make broad scale conservation possible – bankers, building owners, elected officials, developers, local government personnel, investors and taxpayers.⁹² Such incentives can attract new private investment into historic cores, generate jobs, enhance property values, and augment revenues for local governments through increased property, business and income taxes. They assist upgrades and maintenance of existing properties and the repurposing of vacant ones into newer revenue-generating places without compromising on their historic character. To bring fruition to holistic revitalization, it is here that the city authorities become facilitators, by providing financial and other incentives to encourage the conservation of precincts and buildings. The government cannot be absolved of this lead role in conservation and must promote it alongside infrastructure for new urban development.⁹³ Other dynamic financial mechanisms that tap into private investment to aid resident efforts at maintenance and enhancement of neighborhood character must also augment municipal efforts where resources

⁹² Rypkema, Donovan. “The Economics of Rehabilitation,” Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1994. Pg. 1.

⁹³ Mehrotra, Rahul & Sandhya Savant. *The Fort Precinct in Bombay: Conserving an Image Centre* – Vol II. Mumbai: UDRI, 1994. Pg. 8.

are limited. And for those reason “incentivizing heritage was probably as important as heritage regulations for effective preservation.”⁹⁴

2.2.1 Threats to Urban Conservation in the Absence of Economic Incentives

The aforementioned inclusionary methods compel conservation to transcend a mere cultural desire to preserve historic icons. In the absence of broad-based incentives that are accessible and used by communities in historic neighborhoods, efforts remain restricted to architectural conservation exercises. Restoration of individual buildings occurs through isolated initiatives when the landscapes they are set in continue to fall apart.⁹⁵ There are other threats and outdated practices that continue to impact urban conservation, proving to be disincentives instead. Some of these are:

1. Perceived stigma of a heritage status: Designation or notification of a property as a heritage building or heritage zone imposes regulations on it. They include significant curtailment of property rights, development restrictions, approvals for physical alterations and limitations on demolition. This has led to opposition and resistance to the conservation process from private property owners.⁹⁶ Being the primary stakeholders they should be included in the conversation right at the onset to play an active role in visualizing the future of the resource they possess. The absence of economic incentives then provides a further setback.

2. Maintenance liability of private owners: The Mumbai and Hyderabad heritage regulations clearly state that buildings are to remain with private owners who are solely responsible for repairs and maintenance at their own cost. In Mumbai, nearly 70% of listed

⁹⁴ Op. Cit. based on opinion by Jamsheed Kanga. *Conservation after Legislation*. Pg. 144.

⁹⁵ Mehrotra, Rahul. 2001, Pg. 161.

⁹⁶ “The Impact of Historic Districts on Residential Property Values,” NYC IBO study, September 2003, Pg. 2.

heritage buildings are privately owned while government departments are responsible for upkeep of their buildings.⁹⁷ Periodic inspection of such private properties is imperative to assess their physical condition and identify deteriorations and thereby contain cases of demolition by neglect. The government also rarely set a precedent by neglecting the large heritage stock it possesses, while expecting the private sector to conform to the regulations.⁹⁸ Proving most damaging to Grade III structures and heritage zones is the lack of funding through sponsorships, loans, grants or adoption for maintenance. Limited financial resources of owners compounded with alleged high costs of maintenance increases the liability of privately maintaining a heritage building.⁹⁹

3. Rent Control and Tenancy Acts: Physical degradation of historic buildings, listed or otherwise, was accelerated by the imposition of the Rent Control Act in 1942, which froze rents and gave tenants legal protection. As a result, it became uneconomical for landlords to maintain buildings, which are now subdivided,¹⁰⁰ lacking in infrastructure and over-occupied in most cases. Apart from poor maintenance, a direct fallout of these Acts has been outright demolition, in cases where landlords collaborate with real estate agents to redevelop the land for higher economic gain.¹⁰¹ The historic ‘wada,’ a courtyard-centric medieval housing typology in Pune, was subjected to such rampant demolition in the late 1970s. Low rent-paying multi-family tenants largely occupied wadas in Shukrawar Peth, the city’s historic core. They were displaced

⁹⁷ Op. Cit. Shorey. Pg. 335.

⁹⁸ Incentive Options for Heritage Conservation: Panel Discussion, *Conservation after Legislation*, pg 138

⁹⁹ Op. Cit. based on opinion by Pankaj Joshi. *Conservation after Legislation*, Pg. 145.

¹⁰⁰ Mehrotra, 2001. Pg. 157.

¹⁰¹ In 1992, the Central Government proposed a model rent control legislation, which was meant for and circulated to all states. It proposed modification of some of the existing provisions on inheritance of tenancy and also prescribed a rent level beyond which rent control could not apply. Very few states have introduced the model act, except Maharashtra, Delhi, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.
<http://www.indianground.com/rentals/rental-laws-in-india.aspx>; (accessed 20 June, 2013).

to facilitate construction of new high-rise apartment buildings sold at market rates. This landlord-initiated process not only drove out long time residents from inner city neighborhoods but also triggered destruction of the historic fabric and eventually sowed the seeds of urban renewal in the area.¹⁰²

2.2.2 Attempts at Incentivization in Indian Cities: Efforts and Fault Lines

“Market-based incentives offer a powerful reason for the public at large to retain, care for, invest in, and responsibly rehabilitate historic buildings. With historic preservation largely perceived as being overly regulatory and authoritarian, with no real means of rewarding those who follow imposed requirements, financial incentives offer a positive and more broadly defensible reason for the public to get involved with responsible preservation activities, in the absence of government enforcement.”¹⁰³

Three key areas exist in India where state governments, municipal authorities and/or private initiative have attempted to provide economic benefits to residents and private investors. These are deemed critical when addressing urban conservation issues and are broadly applicable to a majority of Indian inner city neighborhoods. They are:

1. The protection and rehabilitation of urban institutional and residential heritage
2. Tools to combat displacement and gentrification in traditional neighborhoods
3. The ability to boost heritage tourism that benefits local communities

¹⁰² Based on Joshi, Shruti. “Gentrification Of A Historic City: An Analytical Study Of Changing Urban Dynamics In Pune, India,” Paper presented at ISVS 4 Conference, Ahmedabad 2007

¹⁰³ McLeary, Rebecca. “Financial Incentives For Historic Preservation: An International View.” Master’s thesis at University of Pennsylvania, 2005. Pg. 1.

2.2.2A The Protection and Rehabilitation of Urban Institutional and Residential heritage in Mumbai

Urban institutional architecture, especially from medieval or colonial times, rapidly reaches functional obsolescence if abandoned, while those still in use have a better chance of being maintained. Mere architectural restoration reflects a “spot-fixing” mindset, opposing the idea of conservation as an ongoing activity, where heritage properties require maintenance and funding on an ongoing basis. Conservation cannot be treated like a special one-time event, rather than an ongoing and necessary part of the lifecycle of a building.¹⁰⁴ Those accommodative of a new function through adaptive reuse are best equipped to effectively approach a self-financing and sustainable path to conservation.

It was with these concerns that a citizen action movement was conceived in Mumbai, by enlightened residents and local non-profits, such as Bombay Environment Action Group (BEAG), Urban Design Research Institute (UDRI), Heritage Society and INTACH Mumbai Chapter. They guided the process leading up to enactment of the 1995 Mumbai Heritage Regulations that implemented new Development Control Rules. In its first phase of existence, the ‘postcard city’ syndrome, centering on nostalgia and sentiment, continued to dominate the city authorities focus. Conservation standards were benchmarked by a purist approach and detached from the larger emerging cultural landscape of the contemporary city.¹⁰⁵ It was soon evident that government funding to protect, preserve and manage Mumbai’s colonial urban heritage would be a lost cause. The best approach was to seek public participation and corporate funding.¹⁰⁶ Two key projects facilitated through this approach were:

¹⁰⁴ Based on: Op, Cit, Rebecca McLeary, 2005. Pg. 78.

¹⁰⁵ Op. Cit. Mehrotra 2004, Pg. 27.

¹⁰⁶ Op. Cit. Lambah 2012, Pg. 427.



Figure 14: View of the tree-lined Oval Maidan showing two distinct architectural typologies on either side of the grounds. The 1860s Gothic Revival institutional buildings flank its east side while the 1930s Art Deco residential apartment buildings is to its west.

Source: Bombay - The Cities Within, 1995, Pg. 228.

1. Restoration of the Oval Maidan: The first sub-area to receive attention was a Grade I open space, the historic Oval Maidan (playing ground), which up to 1996 had been under the jurisdiction of the state government. Flanking either side of the Maidan are buildings reflective of two distinct architectural genres and periods, both emblematic of Mumbai's colonial urban heritage, Gothic Revival and Art Deco¹⁰⁷ (Figure 14). As this was a city-level open space (used chiefly for cricket), local residents did not feel responsible for its upkeep.¹⁰⁸ Formation of the

¹⁰⁷ To the east of the Oval Maidan are sprawling Gothic structures such as the Mumbai High Court and a host of structures with the Mumbai University campus (Convocation Hall, Rajabai Clock Tower. To the west is the expansive stretch of multi-storied Art Deco apartment buildings (which along with those on Marine Drive are the second highest concentration of such a style after Miami).

¹⁰⁸ The space had deteriorated to a spot for drug dealing, prostitution, and gross misuse. A citizen group, comprising mainly of elderly women residents of the area, petitioned the state government to maintain the space. The state government did not respond, resulting in the citizen group's taking the state government to court. The court ruled in the group's favor and directed the state government to either maintain the space or hand over the maintenance to the citizen group. (Mehrotra, 2004. Pg. 159.)

resident-led group, called Organization for Verdant Ambience and Landscape (OVAL), advocated for the Maidan and after a court decree began the management of this space. Plans were drawn up for the area and over Rs. 1 crore (\$200,000) was raised through corporate sponsorship, to be utilized for fencing the space, putting up signage, introducing a walking track and restoring the urban green space, all within Heritage Conservation Committee guidelines.



Figure 15: Historic streetscape of Dadabhai Naoroji Road, Mumbai.
Source: Lahar Sthalekar

2. Dadabhai Naoroji Road Heritage Streetscape Project: D. N. Road was designated as a Grade II heritage streetscape, and acknowledged as an important architectural ensemble within the Fort Heritage Precinct (Figure 15). The road was plagued by unregulated signage systems and inappropriate street furniture that concealed the neo-classical façades and arcaded bazaars for decades.¹⁰⁹ In 2001, following a preliminary assessment and without waiting for government

¹⁰⁹ D. N. Road is a 19th century north-south artery, stretching from Crawford Market to Flora Fountain, and along which the Victoria Terminus and the Times of India building are located.

funding, the occupants and local shopkeepers collaborated with municipal officers to voluntarily implement shop front and signage regulations. Professional assistance, by Abha Narain Lambah Architects, and active local community participation helped to relocate signage and install street furniture. The expenses were borne by each individual commercial establishment. A local newspaper sponsored the street furniture pilot project along a 100-meter long stretch on D. N. Road. Encouraged by this success, all stakeholders involved in the project formed ‘The Heritage Mile Association’, a citizen’s group that promoted regeneration of the area through public participation and private sponsorship (Figure 16). The Association raised funds to continue the redesign project for an additional 500 meters, garnering greater financial support and human resources. The effort represents a successful initiative involving local authorities and citizens’ associations working towards the same objective.¹¹⁰



Figure 16: Map of Dadabhai Naoroji Road, Mumbai showing area selected for the Heritage Streetscape project. Source: The Fort Precinct in Bombay - Conserving an Image Centre, 1994.

¹¹⁰ “Dadabhai Naoroji Road Heritage Streetscape Project, Mumbai: a community-led initiative,” in *Historic Districts for All*, Delhi: UNESCO, March 2010. Pg. 18.



Figure 17: Inner city neighborhood of Girgaum, Mumbai showing dense and congested urban fabric. Source: Bombay - The Cities Within, 1995, Pg. 302.

Mumbai's Historic Residential Neighborhoods Remain Outside the Conservation Ambit:

Mumbai's demographic diversity and cosmopolitan character is most visible and extant in precincts such as Khotachiwadi, Bandra Village, Parsi colonies, Matharpakadi and Bhuleshwar.¹¹¹ These neighborhoods have remained unaffected by the Fort Area's conservation victories, proactive preservation advocacy, and investments (Figure 17). Several precincts and buildings have been designated as Grade III structures, but there is little in the laws to prevent unregulated change and almost total reconstruction. Between 1995 and 1999, the ruling governmental coalition allowed the owners of Grade III buildings (pre-1940 tenanted buildings, and comprising almost 80% of its building stock) to destroy their structures, rebuilding the sites with higher FSI values.¹¹² The high economic potential of urban land in this island city and a

¹¹¹ Bose, Joeyta. "How to Keep Community Precincts INTACH." The Indian Express, Mumbai, 20 September 1999.

¹¹² Bavadam, Lyla. "Mumbai, Past in Present," Frontline Magazine, Volume 19 Issue 13, 22 June - 5 July 2002.

formidable builders lobby has worked against saving many parts of these historic precincts. The only long-running and significant incentive offered by the city has been the Heritage Transfer of Development Rights (TDR, under Section 67 of the DCR as enacted in the 1995 regulations) where “builders who cannot utilize the entire FSI potential because of Heritage Regulations are given the option to use the shortfall elsewhere.”¹¹³

Over the past four years the municipal authorities have been mulling over various ideas and options to incentivize private owners towards conservation but the proposals are still pending. Some possibilities under consideration are:

1. Creating a Heritage Conservation Fund (HCF) for those without the means to pay for exterior façade restorations and repairs. Levying penalties and hiking the review fee charged during processing of heritage proposals could accumulate the fund. Other contributors could include individuals, corporates and charitable trusts, and the government, which might provide grants from urban development and tourism departments.¹¹⁴

2. Extending TDR incentives to private owners and not just developers. Currently, the TDR application can be used only for the development of residential properties. The MHCC is deliberating the wisdom of providing TDR incentives for commercial properties as well.¹¹⁵ The

¹¹³Not many owners have opted for it due to the Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ). Many properties are in south Mumbai, which constitutes a strip of land so narrow that in some places the eastern and western shorelines are less than 800 meters apart. This forbids any new construction. The CRZ has since been altered in 2010 “lifting the restrictions on floor space index (FSI) for the redevelopment of slum colonies and dilapidated cessed buildings, and it has yet to be seen what impact this has on Grade III structures in heritage precincts. Based on Bavadam, Lyla. Frontline Magazine 2002, and ‘CRZ altered, Mumbai Set for Sea Change,’ *Times of India*, Mumbai. 8 January 2011.

¹¹⁴ Vyas, Sharad & Sukhada Tatke. “State Contemplates Carrot and Stick Heritage Policy,” *Times of India*, Mumbai, 29 November 2009.

¹¹⁵ “Heritage Panel Mulls TDR Incentives to Private Owners,” *The Indian Express*, Mumbai, 22 September 2012.

MHCC also began considering in May 2011 the idea of indexing the TDR value gained from a heritage property, so as to equate it monetarily to prevalent market rates.

3. Introducing tax benefits and concessional interest rate on loans. This amendment to the Rent Control Act would exempt tenants from municipal taxes in exchange for better conservation of rented heritage property. The MHCC has further proposed concessions in property taxes, which is significant because new calculations on capital value are often higher for heritage structures.¹¹⁶

4. Introducing Special Incentive Zones, or free trade zones, where occupants can conduct free trade with tax holidays. Special Planning Zones call for the development of specific regulations on FSI “so that there is no feeling of inequity in the same zone.”¹¹⁷

2.2.2B As Tools to Combat Displacement and Gentrification¹¹⁸ in Traditional

Neighborhoods: Ahmedabad, Surat, and Hyderabad

Realistically, no one argues for total preservation of everything that is old in the city. Improving sanitation and water supply, reducing overcrowding, or otherwise improving living

¹¹⁶ Saldanha, Alison. “Panel Suggests Sops to Preserve Private Heritage Buildings,” The Indian Express, Mumbai, 26 February 2013.

¹¹⁷ Saldanha, Alison. “MHCC Mulls Tax Sops for Owners who Conserve Heritage Buildings,” The Indian Express, Mumbai, 27 August 2012.

¹¹⁸ “Gentrify”: convert (a working-class or inner-city district etc.) into an area of middle-class residence. Gentrification is a general term for the arrival of wealthier people in an existing urban district, a related increase in rents and property values, and changes in the district's character and culture. The term is often used negatively, suggesting the displacement of poor local communities by wealthy residents from outside. But the effects of gentrification are complex and contradictory, and its real impact varies. Gentrification is basically understood as a threat to resident's housing, community and rent prices. Many aspects of the gentrification process are desirable such as reduced crime, new investment in buildings and infrastructure, and increased economic activity in their neighborhoods. Unfortunately, the benefits of these changes are often enjoyed disproportionately by the new arrivals, while the established residents find themselves economically and socially marginalized. (Based on Joshi, 2007).

conditions in historic districts are critical for the social and cultural well being of inner city residents. It is the human inhabitants who create and constitute the social-cultural and economic systems, which give life to the physical environment. The focus of revitalization of historic centers has to be on whole areas, not just individual buildings, and on social communities, not just the physical environment. Inner city neighborhoods are often home for lower and middle-income families with a physical, social, economic and cultural value system different from the contemporary visions of bureaucrats or planners. Advocates of rehabilitation policies should emphasize the importance of a comprehensive and integrated approach to planning for older areas. Particular buildings of historic or architectural interest should definitely be preserved but as part of the overall scheme. The real focus is on the activities and uses of the buildings taken as a whole, and the need to upgrade selectively and adaptively.¹¹⁹

In India, urban areas are expanding fast with city cores and working class neighborhoods undergoing urban renewal and decay. Developers quickly attempt to convert low and middle-income neighborhoods in inner cities into more upscale communities with high-rise apartments and wealthier tenants. Increase in property price then results in dispersal of communities whose members now find the new housing as unaffordable. Of course some low-income residents want to sell their apartments and move to suburban high-rises, even when they have been given inner city residences in exchange for their earlier tenements. Eventually new retail and restaurants are built, thereby drastically altering the culture and character of historic neighborhoods.¹²⁰ In order to combat these strains of drastic and irreversible change, the cases of Ahmedabad, Surat and Hyderabad will be studied where the municipal authorities have used mitigative measures to benefit local communities and encourage conservation.

¹¹⁹ Based on Steinberg, 1996. Pg. 467.

¹²⁰ Op. Cit. Joshi 2007. Pg. 473 – 474.

AHMEDABAD:

The conservation road map for the 600-year old Walled City of Ahmedabad¹²¹ underscores that when citizens work with and are ably supported by government agencies and local municipal bodies, can reach their conservation goals by providing direction, legislation, protection, control and monitoring.¹²² After two alarming tendencies played out in this historic quarter that caused the community to reorganize its heritage priorities. Firstly, in the mid 1990s private developers took advantage of flawed municipal regulations and tax structures to demolish the wooden *pol*-house and *haveli* typology. These residential configurations consumed much lesser floor areas than the permitted 3.0 FSI. Their replacements were multi-storied buildings on large amalgamated plots, which threatened the character and integrity of the existing urban form.¹²³ Secondly, there seemed to emerge a huge market for architectural salvage of the intricate woodwork from dismantled old *havelis*, both at the local and international levels, often via unauthorized channels. “Typically, a small carved bracket fetches Rs 1,000-3, 000; an ornate window Rs 25,000-60,000; and a set of pillars Rs 50,000-2,00,000.”¹²⁴ Lured by antique dealers to make a quick profit, homeowners succumbed to such opportunities, which encouraged demolition and in other cases stripped the residences of their distinctive elements (Figure 18).

¹²¹ The walled city of Ahmedabad follows a radial pattern of streets with twelve gates. Each micro-neighborhood around residential streets is called a *pol*, which consists of a street with houses on both sides. Often it would have two gates barring entry at night.

¹²² Rahman, Dr. Mahbabur & Debashish Nayak. “Community Participation in Urban Heritage Conservation,” in *Protibesh*, July 2008, Volume 12 Issue 2, Pg. 27-35.

¹²³ Ibid. Rahman & Nayak, Pg. 30.

¹²⁴ Kalshian, Rakesh. “Pillaging the Past,” *The Outlook*, February 1997.



Figure 18: Façade of Hatkeshwar Mahadev Temple in Khadia, Ahmedabad, before restoration. Loss of wood carved façade elements had resulted in dismantling of two entrance structures and crude reconstruction using concrete walls. Source: Ahmedabad Heritage Cell

This period between 1994 to 1997 also overlapped with an overhaul in the city municipal management system to create more effective and progressive governance. A corporate perspective plan for the next 10 years was drawn up, after a CRISIL credit rating¹²⁵ analysis and the idea to launch municipal bonds¹²⁶ to involve citizen participation and transparent administration was mooted. A portion of the income was used for heritage revival and the municipal corporation spearheaded the restoration of Walled City gates, planned heritage walks, encouraged community initiatives within the pols for adaptive reuse of colonial mansions, and commissioned a comprehensive plan for revitalization. Citizen participation was a key component of this effort to raise heritage awareness among local residents, as merely enforcing

¹²⁵ In 1995, Ahmedabad became the first city to request a credit rating from the Credit Rating Information Services of India Ltd (CRISIL). More information on the procedures and outcomes can be accessed in the article: “Developing a Municipal Credit Rating System in India,” in FIRE(D) Technical Report, 20 November, 1999; <http://www.tcgillc.com/firenotes/20.pdf>

¹²⁶ Ahmedabad began with a small municipal bond of US\$33 million, for which the city did considerable advertising. Interested parties began to say that instead of US\$33 million, the bond should be issued for US\$100 million. This idea generated much support not only locally but also among professionals from Ahmedabad who live in the United States. Moreover, expatriates began returning to the city, investing, buying back havelis, and restoring them.

the law was not enough.¹²⁷ In 1996, the AMC collaborated with the non-profit CRUTA Foundation¹²⁸ to develop and achieve its conservation goals. It became the first municipal corporation to set up a Heritage Cell within its administrative structure, with a separate start-up budget of Rs. 50 lakhs. The Cell succeeded in introducing a by-law in the General Development Control Regulations prohibiting any heritage property from being pulled down without prior permission.¹²⁹ The FSI was reduced to 2.0 to favor only the restoration and upgrading of historic properties.

In efforts to garner international attention and enhance local awareness, the Walled City of Ahmedabad was included in the list of Endangered Heritage Sites by the World Monument Fund in 1998.¹³⁰ Unlike the WMF listing, which only partially mobilized municipal action in Kolkata for the Dalhousie Square Heritage Zone (as discussed in Chapter 1), Ahmedabad was more proactive in leveraging the listing through innovative solutions. With the agenda of ‘bringing the city back to its people,’ a number of other short-term economic incentives and

¹²⁷ Varma, Keshav. “Involving the People and Municipal Bonds in Development and Preservation in Ahmedabad,” in *Historic Cities and Sacred Sites – Cultural roots for Urban Futures*, ed. Ismail Serageldin, Ephim Shluger, Joan Martin-Brown. USA: The World Bank, 2001, pg. 210 - 217. The author was Municipal Commissioner of Ahmedabad during these initiatives and then assumed responsibility as sector manager for the East Asia Urban Development Division at the World Bank.

¹²⁸ The Foundation for Conservation and Research of Urban Traditional Architecture, (CRUTA Foundation) represents an on-going experiment in a public participation based program of heritage restoration, conservation, neighborhood and community development, and tourism promotion. It is a Kolkata based registered trust founded by Debashish Nayak that was contracted by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation for Walled City Revitalization. (Extracted from: <http://www.iisd.org/50comm/commdb/desc/d36.htm> ; (accessed 6 March 2013).

¹²⁹ Nayak, Debashish. “Revitalising our Walled Cities,” *Seminar*, New Delhi. October 2003. Also available at <http://www.india-seminar.com/2003/530/530%20debashish%20nayak.htm>, (accessed 6 March 2013).

¹³⁰ Ahmedabad Walled City, 1998 World Monuments Watch: <http://www.wmf.org/project/ahmedabad-walled-city>, (accessed 6 March 2013).

schemes were devised and made available to the Walled City residents to improve their physical habitat. Key outcomes based on Inter Departmental And Public-Private Partnerships were¹³¹:

1. Façade Grant: AMC with the assistance of state Government and Gujarat

Archaeological Department announced a 50% grant for façade restoration. This type of inter departmental partnerships included citizen groups and NGO's. For instance, CHETNA (Centre for Health Education Training and Nutrition Awareness) used the grant to remodel an old haveli, Pravrutti Kendra as a training center, demonstrating the possibilities and methods of restoration.



Figure 19: Before and after restoration images of Ilaben Soni's residence in Lambeshwar ni pol, Kalupur, Ahmedabad. Ilaben was provided a low interest loan from the SEWA Bank as part of the municipal-driven pilot projects. Source: Ahmedabad Heritage Cell

2. HUDCO-AMC Collaboration for Low-interest Loans:Housing finance and building

repair loan segments play an important role for successful implementation of renewal projects.

On 31st January 2000, the HUDCO board approved an exploration with a septennial investment

¹³¹ Based on Nayak, Debashish. "The Role of the Government – Supporting Conservation in Ahmedabad," in Mehrotra & Lambah (2000), Pg. 75 – 87; Rahman & Nayak (2008), & Nayak (2003).

in the heritage sector. On 18th April 2000, World Heritage Day, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed between AMC and HUDCO to detail the financial implications. For the first time the agreement made properties older than 15-20 years eligible for low interest loans at 5% P.A. through HUDCO in collaboration with Government of France. The French Government also bore the difference of loan granted by HUDCO at 9.5% by a subsidy of 4.5%.

3. MoU between AMC & Government of France: On 14 January 2001, the AMC signed a MoU with the French government for a scientific study of the walled city resulting in a complete area survey. The survey identified 12500 properties as historic, meriting protection and conservation and formed the basis of neighborhood and property selection for the next phase of work. On 18 February 2003, another MoU was signed whereby a French technical team, jointly with AMC staff, worked to restore selected heritage properties. The team provided free design and technical assistance and involved local banks to fund restoration projects. For example, the local 'Self Employed Women's Association' (SEWA) Bank approved restoration loans where the properties were deeded to women (Figure 19). Others financial groups, such as the Swami Narayan Temple Trust, also provided loans.

These efforts set a strong foundation for economically supporting conservation and directly benefited the residents of the walled city. The nature of the partnerships implied that resources were limited by both time and amount, but a handful of beneficiaries under each category were identified, and because they were successful, they eventually became pilot projects and conservation models. The subsequent private organizations and individuals interested in rehabilitation approached the Heritage Cell independently and were supported

technically but without any monetary assistance or incentives. Some of the private initiatives included:

1. The rehabilitation of Bholanath Divetia's haveli in Sankhedi Sheri for a café, museum and retail venture by the House of MG boutique hotel;¹³²
2. Conversion of Nikhil Vyas's residence in Dhal ni pol into a home-stay facility and residency space for people from the creative industries in 2005, by Arts Reverie.¹³³ (Figure 20)
3. The rehabilitation of Ranchodlal Chotalal haveli in Desai ni pol for Centre for Health Education, Training and Nutrition Awareness (CHETNA), a non-profit organization focusing on health and nutrition issues for women and children.¹³⁴



Figure 20: Before and after restoration images of Arts Reverie, in Dhal ni pol, Astodia, Ahmedabad. This was a privately initiated artists residency project where technical assistance was provided by the AMC but no financial support. Source: Ahmedabad Heritage Cell

¹³² Mangaldas ni Haveli, café and craft center: <http://www.houseofmg.com/mangaldasnihaveli/>

¹³³ Arts Reverie: <http://www.artsreverie.com/the-building.htm>

¹³⁴ Samvaad Heritage Conference Center, Chetna: http://chetnaindia.org/?page_id=6070

SURAT:

With heritage issues integrated in the development agenda, the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation's approach generated interest in nearby towns and cities. The Gujarat City Manager Association organized a Transfer Seminar in 2001 using the AMC experience as a 'Best Practice.' The Gujarat Urban Heritage Institute for training and promoting conservation initiatives in the State was subsequently set up.¹³⁵ In spite of the precedents, few other cities in Gujarat have developed or acted upon their historic neighborhoods in a holistic way. A case in point is Surat, 200km south of Ahmedabad, currently the fastest growing city in India from an economic perspective. Surat's inner city neighborhoods¹³⁶ have a distinct medieval and colonial architectural imprint, which follow the attached row house residential typology (Figure 21). Conservation efforts in Surat have only gained momentum over the last five years, largely through survey,¹³⁷ documentation and annual heritage walks.¹³⁸

In 2011 the SMC passed a draft heritage policy following the Ahmedabad model, to create a heritage committee and facilitate grading of 2991 properties (2417 in the Central Zone

¹³⁵ Op. Cit. Rahman & Nayak, Pg. 34.

¹³⁶ The urban growth of Surat was continually linked to competitions for western maritime trade control of the 16th and 17th centuries. As the site of the first British trade post its location along the River Tapti has generated an overall semi-circular urban form. Two concentric city walls suggested two distinct periods of development—medieval and colonial—expressing a need for expansion at an early stage and also indicating high threats of outside attacks. For further reading refer: Kinariwala, Denish. *Walled City of Surat: History, Settlement and Architecture*, Hamburg: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2012.

¹³⁷ To initiate Improved Heritage Management for the city's historic core, the Surat Municipal Corporation commissioned Ahmedabad based non-profit, Urban Management Center (UMC, headed by Manvita Baradi) to prepare detailed reports (published in 2009) on the Central Zone around Surat Castle and the historic neighborhoods in Rander ward. More information can be found at: <http://www.umcasia.org/content.php?id=16> (accessed 6 February 2013).

¹³⁸ Surat Municipal Corporation (SMC) holds its annual heritage walk as part of Heritage Week celebration on November 22, and primarily covers monuments built by rulers of different eras (in the Central Zone), which now have become landmarks in the history of the city.

and 574 in Rander) identified in the 2009 survey. The policy framework also provided programs for technical assistance and financial help in keeping with the grade of the property. If the owners wish to change the use of the building, special permission must be sought from the appropriate city officials. The owners of the heritage properties will be entitled to receive reduced property and other municipal taxes, along with saleable FSI and transferable development rights.¹³⁹ Much of this has remained on paper, while the Central Zone listing itself poses a problem by excluding a detailed survey of over 900 inaccessible or dilapidated residential properties¹⁴⁰ that are at risk in historic neighborhoods.



Figure 21: Inner city residential fabric of attached row houses in Haripura, Surat, dating back to the 19th century. Source: Danish Kinariwala

¹³⁹ Bhatt, Himanshu. "Civic Body Passes Draft Heritage Policy," *The Times of India*, Surat, 28 April 2011.

¹⁴⁰ "Report on Central Zone, GIS mapping of Living Heritage of Surat," Urban Management Center, Ahmedabad, March 2009.

Another perceived threat to the heritage policy is the pressure of “heritage being developed like an industry.”¹⁴¹ This may outweigh economic benefits reaped by residents and eventually be detrimental to the integrity of historic areas. The powerful diamond and textile industry lobby, key drivers of the city’s commerce and economy, support the formation of a heritage cum retail corridor that could boost development very fast. Shopping for pleasure can be very tempting for those that have the time and money. For Surat, where conservation as a city level agenda is a fairly recent initiative, a purely commercial trajectory should be treated with caution.

HYDERABAD:

The passing of the 1995 heritage regulations in Hyderabad had the effect of re-discovering a long forgotten and neglected area of civic concern. Yet after private building owners were notified as they had heritage buildings, some residents did go to the courts. They protested not against the regulations but mainly against the government departments, demanding better protection of such buildings. These were Public Interest Lawsuits (PILs) filed by NGOs and individuals.¹⁴² Similar concerns of heritage status for private buildings and the ensuing liability in the absence of substantial incentives found voice through litigation. In fact several state governments have avoided including heritage regulations as part of Town Planning laws with apprehensions of ensuing lawsuits but have minimally attempted to remedy the situation.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Bhatt, Himanshu. “Surat Heritage Policy: Its Economic Aspect Makes it Different,” The Times of India, Surat, 20 November 2009.

¹⁴² Based on Shorey, Sasi P. “Urban Heritage Regulations in India: The Hyderabad Negotiations.” Heritage & Development. Pg. 335 – 336.

¹⁴³ Sajjad Shahid, heritage activist and member of the HCC: “Hyderabad was the second, after Mumbai, to bring in legislation to protect heritage structures. But all that enthusiasm and benefits of an early start were lost. A general apathy has set in and planning has failed.

The regulations did however provide for few incentives to private owners of notified buildings that were similar to Mumbai.¹⁴⁴

The Hyderabad Heritage Committee's lack of enforcement powers and mere advisory nature led to it becoming a defunct body by 2009.¹⁴⁵ Inertia and low impact measures by the city municipality catalyzed the local INTACH chapter, in 2005, to draft a set of economic incentives that could be adopted by the city authorities to benefit residents and investors alike.¹⁴⁶ For speedy implementation of some clauses INTACH suggested that initial funding from the JNnURM be allotted for neighborhood conservation under the Mission's inner city redevelopment program.¹⁴⁷ Some other long-term goals identified to facilitate this were:

1. Funds should be allocated for preparing an Urban Development Plan for each Heritage Zone. For this purpose, the twin cities (of Hyderabad and Secunderabad) may be divided into several heritage zones, apart from heritage precincts, such as the Golkonda zone, Charminar zone, Afzalganj zone, Koti zone, Abids zone, and the Secunderabad zone.

The government has no political will and had not upheld the law." Quoted from 'As protests roil Charminar, Hyderabad's Heritage Slowly Vanishes,' The Hindu, 20 November 2012.

¹⁴⁴ The incentives provided were: i) Possibility of relaxation in land use and building norms to facilitate conservation of the specific heritage buildings.
ii) Grant of TDR in case of loss of development rights
iii) Possibility of grant to owners from a Repair Fund: A source of funding for effectively operationalizing this Fund is yet to be identified.

¹⁴⁵ Letter to Commissioner, Hyderabad Metropolitan Development Authority on 21 January 2010 by city-based non-profit Hyderabad Greens; <http://www.hyderabadgreens.org/hcell.html>

¹⁴⁶ Refer Appendix 5, Pg. 176.

¹⁴⁷ Mission Overview: <http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/PMSpeechOverviewE.pdf>; Pg 10, accessed 8 March, 2013
The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JnNURM) is a city modernization scheme launched by Government of India under the Ministry of Urban Development. The aim is to encourage reforms and fast track planned development of identified cities, focusing on efficiency in urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms, community participation, and accountability of Parastatal agencies towards citizens. Hyderabad is a Category A – Megacity under this scheme, also allotted funding for Urban Renewal, that is, redevelopment of inner (old) city areas [including widening of narrow streets, shifting of industrial and commercial establishments from non-conforming (inner city) areas to conforming (outer city) areas to reduce congestion.

2. A revitalization plan for the skills and economy of Hyderabad old city and Golkonda area should be drawn up.

The city's apathy and inaction resulted in these efforts coming to naught. Without any allocation of a regular budget for maintenance of even government-owned heritage buildings, several have been declared unsafe for use and eventually de-listed.¹⁴⁸ Political opposition and slow execution has affected the critical Charminar Pedestrianization Project (CPP) in the historic core (Figure 22). This involved integrating civic amenities, traffic infrastructure and storm water drainage within the precinct. Introduction of heritage walks, pedestrianization & beautification of Laad Bazaar, widening of ring roads, restoration of Pathergatti facades and a comprehensive signage system for Charminar precincts and Char Kamans was also part of the scheme.¹⁴⁹ The delay has threatened to cut down on approved funding of Rs. 35 crores as much of it lies unutilized.¹⁵⁰



Figure 22: Restructuring the historic core of Hyderabad – urban design project around the Charminar as part of the JnNURM scheme. Source: Vastu Shilpa Consultants, Ahmedabad

¹⁴⁸ Op. Cit. Letter to Commissioner from Hyderabad Greens, <http://www.hyderabadgreens.org/hcell.html>; Pg. 3.

¹⁴⁹ Appraisal of City Development Plan: Hyderabad (March 2006) by National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi; http://www.niua.org/jnnurm/CDPAAppraisal_Hyderabad_NIUA.pdf

¹⁵⁰ Mahesh, Koride. “Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation may Lose JNNURM Funds as Many Projects Lie Unfinished,” *The Times of India*, Hyderabad. 13 June 2012

2.2.3 Boosting Heritage Tourism that Benefits Local Communities – Rajasthan and Kerala

Cities are magnets for a wide range of tourists with varied agendas, whether seeking tangible or intangible heritage, culture, museums, or simply an urban atmosphere. Tourism is then viewed as a highly profitable, cash-producing sector, and often the entire city economy or historic area tends to be based on tourism alone. Indeed, it can revive a district, support local craftsmen, enhance awareness and preserve its historic building stock. Tourism alone however should not be the overarching goal for revitalization of historic districts. Uncontrolled tourism can have a detrimental and irreversible impact on the environment, the physical and cultural fabric, and can generate difficult social conflicts. Heritage sites or the areas around them can become ‘Disneyfied’ (i.e. similar to an amusement park rather than a true experience of culture of the area), and can empty out local trade and livelihood.

Tourism can be seen as a major force for development of historic areas, but not a singular activity, which entraps cities. In particular tourism in historic districts must respect the essence of sustainable development, i.e. be socially equitable, culturally diversified, economically viable and not adversely impact the natural environment.¹⁵¹ In India, Rajasthan and Kerala are the two front-runner states to capitalize on heritage tourism potentials within the broader spectrum of the tourism industry. By assessing their tourism policies and incentives, the next section attempts to evaluate to what extent conservation and reuse challenges are being addressed through the state’s initiatives while economically benefiting the local communities.

¹⁵¹ Based on “Developing Tourism, but Not only Tourism” in *Historic Districts for All – India: A Social and Human Approach for sustainable revitalization – Brochure for Local Authorities*. Delhi: UNESCO, March 2010. Pg. 21.

RAJASTHAN:



Figure 23: Conversion of old havelis and palaces into heritage hotels that dot the natural landscape of Udaipur, Rajasthan. Source: the Author.

The integration of princely states into the Union of India in 1947 led to 564 independent sovereigns consolidating their land to begin an era of royalty without monarchy. Of these, 22 princely states were combined to create Rajasthan, whereby the aristocratic and landed gentry were supported by special privileges and privy purses (substantial allowance from the Indian Government).¹⁵² Two developments altered this economic and social stability and triggered a new search for identity and culture. Firstly, the discontinuation of the Jagirdari system in 1950, (which allowed feudal landed aristocrats to collect revenue and provide local governance) introduced land reforms that impacted the fortunes of the ruling class. This was followed by abolishment of privy purses under Indira Gandhi's prime ministership in 1970, taking away all special privileges and allowances from the princely elite. Urban land ceiling laws compounded with high property taxes made it difficult and impractical to sustain the host of forts, royal

¹⁵² Based on Susanne Hoeber Rudolph and Lloyd I. Rudolph, (ed.), Amita Baviskar, Raka Ray. "From Landed Class to Middle Class: Rajput Adaptation in Rajasthan," in *Elite and Everyman: The Cultural Politics of the Indian Middle Classes*. New York: Routledge, 2011. Pg. 108 – 139.

palaces, shikar-badis or hunting lodges, out-houses, water palaces and mountain retreats owned by Rajasthan's royalty.¹⁵³

Resorting to innovative commercial ventures through the heritage hotel model was then adopted to avoid relinquishing such properties to city authorities.¹⁵⁴ In the mid-1970s the Rambagh Palace (owned by the Maharaja of Jaipur) and the Lake Palace (property of the Maharaja of Udaipur) were the first to collaborate with national hospitality chain, The Tata Group for Hotels, for such a conversion. It paved the way for forming the Indian Heritage Hotels Association (IHHA) in 1990. Rajasthan emerged as the pioneer in heritage based tourism that merged commerce with conservation concerns, accounting for 127 of the 173 such hotels across the country¹⁵⁵ (Figure 23). Strategically located under the State's tourism and hospitality industry since 1989, the sector has been bolstered by the Rajasthan government's support through infrastructure, regulations and economic incentives. Under this industry, heritage hotels are defined as 'running hotels in places such as castles, forts, *havelis*, or residence of any size which were built prior to 1950, and should have a minimum of ten lettable rooms' and are eligible for economic incentives.¹⁵⁶

In a state of its size, Rajasthan has comparatively fewer 'defined cities' namely Ajmer, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota, Udaipur, and Bikaner while most others are small and medium scale towns with equally rich historic narratives. This implies that a significant concentration of historic resources lie outside established city limits to encompass a wider cultural landscape

¹⁵³ Unit 31: Heritage Hotels, Course Material from Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU).

¹⁵⁴ Heritage hotels were also a way of legalizing above-ceiling property; off-loading the costs of food and drink and transportation for an extensive joint family; and providing employment to family members. (Rudolph & Rudolph, 2011. Pg. 137.)

¹⁵⁵ Sebastian, Sunny. 'Rajasthan Shows the Way with its Heritage Hotels,' *Hindu*, 28 September 2011.

¹⁵⁶ Refer Appendix 6 & 7, Pg. 178 – 179.

(Figure 25). Investing in small and medium centers through heritage tourism has significantly curtailed large-scale migration to established metropolitan areas and achieved balanced regional and infrastructure development. For an inherently arid landscape it has created new outlets in non-agricultural occupations and generated economic activity for surplus or unemployed labor across the spectrum.¹⁵⁷ The incorporation of Integrated Development Plans for Heritage Tourism¹⁵⁸ within municipal agendas and master planning goals further acknowledges the role of holistic conservation, beyond the heritage hotel model for the state's overall economic development.



Figure 25: Historic neighborhoods in the towns of Shekhavati, Rajasthan have a distinct repository of sprawling havelis with ornate wall paintings. These are recently being developed as a heritage tourism circuit by the state government. Source: the Author.

¹⁵⁷ Wishwakarma, R K, Ajay Prakash, H B Pandey. *Evaluation and Impact of Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns Programme*, New Delhi: IIPA, 1985

¹⁵⁸ The Rajasthan Government's Public-Private peoples' participation scheme was launched in 2004, for conservation and tourism development of cities covering 23 municipalities across the state. The scheme would establish Heritage Cells in each of 23 municipalities for which a district level committee would be formed under the chairmanship of the District Collector. Based on 'State Level Initiatives for Heritage Cities of Rajasthan,' presentation at IHCN conference by Mukesh Mittal, Deputy Town Planner, Jaipur Municipal Corporation. Mysore: 14 - 17 May 2011.

KERALA:

Kerala's overarching monopoly in maritime spice trade in the Indian Ocean from the 16th century onwards is deeply reflected in the eclectic built environment of its port cities along the northern Malabar Coast. Strong Jewish, Portuguese, Dutch and British influences in trade and later colonization have been assimilated into the highly sophisticated local building tradition that was patronized by the wealthy Travancore rulers in the southern districts.¹⁵⁹ Attempting to capitalize on this rich regional history, natural beauty, and diverse architectural heritage, the state government's growing interest in tourism was evident from early 2000. To promote tourism as a self-sustaining commercial activity it placed industry interests squarely in the hands of its stakeholders, through private partnerships.¹⁶⁰ It was one of the earliest states to creatively market its local heritage through brand building efforts in the news and print media. Kerala Tourism's 'God's Own Country'¹⁶¹ media campaign led to unprecedented success and boost in domestic and international tourism in 2003. Today tourism accounts for 8% of the state's GDP and multi-pronged development projects aimed at preserving the heritage of the land to promote tourism are in the pipeline.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Unlike the influences of invading powers, the trade relationship in Kerala was on mutuality and co-existence and the architectural forms of this time are a clear evidence of this relationship where the resultant is the indigenous merging with the foreign creating a fine texture of style, borrowed, changed and assimilated over a period of time. Kerala's coast was synonymous with foreign travellers and trade relations starting as early as the Romans and the Moors, have permeated across multiple cultures creating a distinct historic imprint. Its complex and diverse social fabric, with intrinsically woven textures of religion and culture, has resulted in unique micro-histories that strongly resonate in its architecture as well. Based on Jose, Mridula. *An Eclectic Juxtaposition*, Ahmedabad: SID Research Cell, 2007.

¹⁶⁰ Gantze, Hugh and Colleen. "The Genesis of 'God's Own Country,'" *Hindu*, 3 November 2002.

¹⁶¹ "Kerala— God's Own Country is a Brand Now," *Hindu Businessline*, 10 July 2003.

¹⁶² Based on Kerala Tourism Policy 2012: Tourism development programs began by establishing an international beach resort at Kovalam in 1976 with the patronage of the central

Yet at the core is an absence of any heritage legislation to protect and regulate its historic resources. The Travancore Town & Country Planning Act, last amended in 1975, does not append any heritage related clauses. This puts a large amount of Kerala's historic architecture and precincts at risk, especially in the face of tourism related new development and rapid transformation. The state's Tourism Policy 2012 notes, "most tourism attractions are under the custodianship of departments like Local Self Government, Forests and Wildlife, Culture, Ports, KSEB, Irrigation, Fisheries, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry." A separate built heritage based road map seems to elude this policy.



Figure 25: The Tower House, a 17th century Portuguese mansion in Fort Kochi, Kerala is a heritage hotel run by the Neemrana Group, and is one of the early ventures in this sector. Source: The Neemrana Hotels, <http://the-tower-house.neemranahotels.com/> (accessed 9 May 2013).

government. Realizing the economic potentials, the state government declared tourism as an industry in 1986. However its first tourism policy was announced in 1995 underlining the importance of Public- Private Partnership. From around 50,000 foreign tourist arrivals and Rs. 0.13 bn as foreign exchange in 1986, it has reached a status of 0.6 million tourist arrivals and Rs. 37.97 as foreign exchange in 2010. Total employment generated from tourism is estimated as 1.2 million. www.keralatourism.org/tourism-policy-2012-english.pdf; accessed 22 January 2013.

In this context, it is noteworthy that after Rajasthan, it is Kerala that has the most number of heritage hotels with a high private investment. The scales substantially tilt towards new construction, however not adaptive use, owing to the incentives within the state's tourism policy. Large hospitality chains such as the Neerana Group and the CGH Earth Group of Hotels have been the key drivers of sensitive repurposing of historic properties as luxury destinations, without any aid or state incentives (Figure 25). The introduction of fiscal, budgetary and regulatory incentives could then strongly encourage a larger number of high and mid level private investors to take the route of adapting heritage buildings, thereby supporting sensitive and sympathetic conservation and reuse practices.

The Grihasthali Scheme for traditional homestays.¹⁶³ Where the state has shown initiative is to economically support local residents in maintaining and converting traditional homesteads across various urban and rural centers into mid-range homestays for tourists. The scheme, launched in 1998¹⁶⁴, intended to draw public participation in promotion and development of tourism in the State. The Department of Tourism had designed an exclusive package of incentives and financial assistance to approved projects in collaboration with the Kerala Financial Corporation and nationalized banks. The districts of Palakkad and Kochi were expected to be major beneficiaries from the Grihasthali scheme.¹⁶⁵ (Figure 26) Palakkad is a major center known for its ancestral heritage homes such as the old 'Manas' (Brahmin houses) and 'Tharavadu' (Nair house),¹⁶⁶ that follow the single or double courtyard typology. Fort

¹⁶³ Based on Kerala Tourism scheme announcement: "Join 'Grihasthali' to Protect Heritage, Promote Hospitality and in the Process Make Huge Profits."

<http://www.keralatourism.org/business/grihasthali.htm>; accessed 5 February 2013.

¹⁶⁴ G Prabhakaran, "Grihasthali - A Blend of Tradition and Modernity," Hindu, 22 July 2006.

¹⁶⁵ Refer Appendix 8, Pg. 180.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, Hindu, 22 July 2006.

Kochi's and adjoining Mattancherry's dense configuration of traditional and colonial influenced historic residences was another contributing center.



Figure 26: Homestays and budget heritage hotels on Bastian Street in Fort Cochin, Kerala. This area has a high number of beneficiaries of the state government's 'Grihasthali' homestay scheme. Source: the Author.

Yet the promised success for such a scheme, to encourage investment and economic growth for local residents while taking care of substantial historic building stock, has not been achieved. A lack of awareness among potential investors and the availability of a permanent forum for conservation discussion have led to poor policy implementation. After an initial success in semi-urban centers, the scheme has approved only 20 units since 2008 and none since 2011. "Industry watchers and Grihasthali owners attribute the dwindling numbers to lack of timely disbursement of subsidy and the Tourism Department's inability to manage heritage

properties.”¹⁶⁷ The backlog in subsidy disbursement¹⁶⁸ and the elaborate paperwork involved in applying and receiving funds have been major deterrents.

Another serious concern is the limited evaluation of long-term performance of these heritage homestays, once endowed with a Grihasthali tag. The government’s efficiency or accountability for the scheme’s implementation are unmapped. Yet another loophole seems to be the definition of a heritage building that is eligible to receive the Grihasthali grant. It is stated as “any building, which is more than 50 years old and bears characteristics of the traditional Kerala architecture.” In the absence of a comprehensive listing, period of significance or criteria that critically identifies the building’s architectural characteristics there is a risk of those with low integrity being cleared for selection. A recent trend spurred by tourism has been the recreation of a ‘heritage look’ by adorning a relatively modern construction with some traditional façade elements. The 50-year cut-off therefore allows such buildings to be eligible, encouraging pastiche and weakening the credibility of what entails a heritage building.

¹⁶⁷ Nair, Sangeetha. “No Takers for Tourism Dept's Grihasthali Scheme,” Times of India, Thiruvananthapuram, 9 April 2012.

An owner of one such property at Palakkad, a 200-year old residence, said he had applied for Grihasthali subsidy in 2001 and received the amount only in 2008. He was quoted as, "the subsidy was of no benefit to me as I did not receive any money for five years, by then I had accumulated that much amount in interest owed to the bank. When the scheme was announced, I was happy that the government showed interest to promote heritage properties, but after running the property for almost seven years, I find that the business is not lucrative. I am paying commercial electricity tariff for 12 months when I have occupancy only for 110 days a year."

¹⁶⁸ M S Venugopal, deputy director planning, Tourism Department, agreed that there has been a backlog of subsidy disbursement. "Only 40% of the people mentioned in the "Approved Grihasthali Units list" have received subsidy. The corpus fund allocated to tourism has to go toward various schemes like electricity tariff subsidies, RT subsidies etc. There is a backlog of electricity tariff subsidies pending from 2008. Last year Rs 40 lakhs was allocated, this year we should try and increase that amount to Rs 1 crore to clear the subsidy backlog," he said.

2.3 Conclusion:

Existing national legislation, whether framed by the ASI, central government departments and enacted by select states through their Town and Country planning apparatus or privately backed initiatives, have been found as inadequate to meet the present-day challenges. Institutional capacity in successfully integrating historic urban fabrics within planning processes for rehabilitation in today's context has been guided by lack of vision and archaic laws. The National Monuments Authority (NMA), constituted in 2010, mandates to address this by incorporating a more sophisticated approach to conservation by-laws¹⁶⁹ where planning processes can include localized, context-sensitive solutions. It's implementation or positive impact is yet to be seen. The Mumbai regulations were locally beneficial but did not accelerate similar actions by other states immediately (barring Hyderabad in 1995). Almost thirty years on, most states continue to function with rudimentary legislation as amendments to town planning laws (refer to Appendix 4), while in others it is simply nonexistent.

Furthermore regulations without incentives are ineffective. In the absence of real monetary benefits to heritage property owners, such as tax breaks, estate duty or capital gains tax, enforcing legislation and inculcating an attitude towards conservation proves to be difficult. The perceived stigma of a heritage status, coupled with private liability for maintenance costs and unfavorable clauses of the Rent Control and Tenancy Acts have made conservation an unattractive proposition for heritage building owners and local communities. TDR, Conservation and Maintenance Funds, low interest repair loans and property tax breaks, are ideas mulled by various city governments, to remedy the situation, but were only partially

¹⁶⁹The NMA proposed a 200-meter regulated-development zone around the initial 100-meter no-construction zone as opposed to earlier legislation (by the ASI, where 300-meter zones around a monument is restricted for development). This regulated-development zone is to be planned by local authorities.

implemented with a limited lifespan. The absence of measurable records of success along with a lack of accountability that accompanied loose-ended legal and incentive formulation has made it difficult to evaluate where positive changes were triggered, and who the beneficiaries were.

Examples selected in this chapter, as action areas for core urban conservation issues using incentivization as a key tool, demonstrate mixed success and short-term solutions. Urban heritage consists of both institutional-commercial quarters as well as historic residential neighborhoods. Pioneering outcomes for Mumbai's colonial institutional and commercial precincts, have failed to percolate down to save its vernacular architecture and inner neighborhoods, which were outside the picturesque former 'white town.' In spite of being the first Indian city to frame heritage regulations, the local municipal corporation has been slow to convert this advantage into tangible economic benefits to private property owners. Citizen-led and private investment oriented actions have been location specific, within the Fort precinct, and such initiatives are lacking in its other historic quarters. On the other hand, municipal measures in Ahmedabad have indicated that international and commercial funding through collaborative processes can be successful but only possesses a limited lifeline. For these efforts to become self-sustaining, and displacement of resident communities significantly curtailed, the finances have to be generated from within and bolstered through long-term revenue-generating models. The city has been working in that direction since 2010, when heritage legislation for Ahmedabad was formally enacted. It is therefore extremely commendable on part of the municipal authorities to have evolved innovative and successful approaches since the mid-1990s, especially in the absence of heritage legislation.

The states of Kerala and Rajasthan demonstrate contrasting approaches to incentivizing conservation producing very different results. The Rajasthan example seemingly comes across

as a long-running, well-oiled system that is constantly evolving with state government support. By incentivizing conservation to propel tourism, the state government has attempted to tackle multiple developmental issues. As discussed earlier in the chapter, conservation is now considered a grassroots activity engaging and empowering local communities in both rural and urban centers. And yet, quantifiable evaluation data that statistically records the success and accessibility of central and state offered incentives is unavailable. This poses difficulties in gauging what proportion of private owners and potential investors have actually benefited from these schemes. Kerala, on the other hand, uses state subsidies, technical guidance, marketing assistance, publicity through governmental publications and help in availing loans to predominantly attract new investment and tourist facilities in heritage zones. Clauses such as “fast track clearance to tourism projects with investment above Rs. 10 crores” and subsidy of 15% for private investment up to Rs. 20 lakhs, if unregulated can be detrimental to the cause of heritage tourism. Instead of rehabilitating existing historic buildings to accommodate new uses and upgraded facilities, the state’s tourism policy can be counter-productive in the long run by threatening the historic integrity of the landscape itself.

CHAPTER 3

SMALL SUCCESSES: ASSESSING 'BEST PRACTICE' MODELS FOR FINANCING URBAN CONSERVATION IN HISTORIC NEIGHBORHOODS

Summary: This chapter focuses on three diverse approaches to financing urban conservation in Indian cities. As initiatives that have been or are in the process of implementation, the cases include public, public-private, and private initiatives towards rehabilitation of buildings in three historic precincts. Each case study examines the economic instruments at play, the regulatory toolkit that aided facilitation, and overall impact on the immediate community. Using a ‘best practices’ approach, they demonstrate how planned financial investment in an area’s historic resources can galvanize positive change and boost community health. The broad range of issues and challenges addressed by the three cities, though not exhaustive, can act as a ‘learning board’ and is discussed in the conclusion. The selected cases are categorized by distinction in funding mechanisms and nature of the historic precinct:

1. Corporate Sponsorship and Citizen Participation: Fort Precinct in Mumbai
2. Municipal Efforts for Economic Regeneration: Walled City of Ahmedabad
3. Converging International Investment with Local Goals: French and Tamil towns in Pondicherry

“A great deal can be learned about a nation’s conception and valuation of heritage from an examination of its financial incentives. It sheds light on the level of personal responsibility for heritage that is accepted or expected of members of that society. The assumptions and expectations illustrated through these programs expose deeply rooted

ideas about whom a culture belongs to - individuals, the people as a body, or the state as an autonomous authoritative force separate from the people.”¹⁷⁰

In India, conservation has often been perceived as an exercise that is largely an exclusive venture of government and affiliated professionals. That the future of historic cities will ultimately depend on their capacity to expand and extend to community-based stewardship is a young concept, slowly taking root. The degree to which a community uses or identifies with their heritage often legitimizes conservation strategies for the future and perhaps at another level, validates its significance.¹⁷¹ Financially investing in an area’s historic resources has emerged as critical to this ideal where financing conservation projects is heavily dependent on multiple sources of capital. “There is no single or ‘miracle’ method even for seemingly similar problems. The positive results and good practices, combined with an analysis of the failures and setbacks in the process, are the best elements for progress. Documentation of the methods used, results obtained and of lessons learned from past experiences hold the key to success in future initiatives.”¹⁷² Difficulties encountered in the revitalization of historic precincts in Indian cities often vary, but recurrent themes can be identified, which can then lead to innovative solutions.

The following three case studies aim to highlight three different funding approaches charted in distinct urban conditions. They support the argument of multiple and simultaneously valid methods to financing neighborhood conservation. A one-size-fits-all approach need not be applied and there are several models from which to learn, and from within the Indian context. A range of public and private partnerships, local and international aid, along with municipal and

¹⁷⁰ McLeary, Rebecca. *Financial Incentives For Historic Preservation: An International View*. Master’s Thesis at University of Pennsylvania, 2005. Pg. 3.

¹⁷¹ Baig, Amita. “Heritage Management and Conservation.” *Heritage & Development*, 2012. Pg. 392.

¹⁷² UN Habitat Document, 2010. Pg. 28.

citizen participation offer a toolkit that has been effectively utilized in the three selected cities: Mumbai, Ahmedabad and Pondicherry. The cases also afford an understanding of how Indian cities have attempted to resignify precincts from varying time periods, historical significance and contemporary functionality. The Fort area in Mumbai; a remnant from the British era, is presently the commercial and financial epicenter of the city. As a medieval settlement dating to the Mughal era, the Walled City forms the thriving traditional core of Ahmedabad today. The planned French and Tamil towns are seminal to the development of Pondicherry, a former French colony that was merged with the Indian state only in 1954. Diversity, both in funding approach and context selection allows investigation into a host of stakeholders, approaches and strategies to financially facilitate rehabilitation. It will also act as a springboard to identify possibilities for other Indian cities that are attempting to creatively harness their conservation potential.

3.1 Corporate patronage and citizen participation: Fort precinct in Mumbai

3.1.1 The Urban Context:

Mumbai was not an indigenous Indian city but it was built by the British expressly for trade. It developed incrementally, organically and is a conglomerate of precincts, sacred sites, vernacular architecture, and ethnic neighborhoods. This allowed for open-ended development where adaptations in the physical environment could be accommodated as the city evolved. The most significant such adaptation was made during the late 19th and early 20th centuries when the colonial government reshaped the city through a series of distinct, planned architectural and urban design projects. The old Fort Area of Mumbai, dating to 1864, received particular attention in the renewal process when the surrounding fortifications were thought no longer

necessary and could be removed (Figure 27). These efforts projected perhaps the first such urban design gesture in colonial India.¹⁷³ At the western edge of the Fort Area, along the Back Bay waterfront, several public buildings were put up on land made vacant by this move, now forming its historic building stock (Figure 28).



Figure 27: The Fort area in the mid-19th century before the fortifications were removed and large-scale urban development initiated. The image shows the former Churchgate at the heart of this zone. Source: Bombay – The Cities Within, pg. 23.



Figure 28: The Flora Fountain today stands on the same site as the former Churchgate while D N Road was created as an important thoroughfare. Source: Abha Narain Lambah Associates.

¹⁷³ Mehrotra, 2001. Pg. 154 - 155.

Today in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region, the Fort Area is seen as the city's financial center spread over approximately 3.5 square-kilometers. 200 of the 624 conservation-worthy buildings in Mumbai's heritage list are located in the Fort Area. Among these, 50% are of Grade I and Grade II building status, and carry substantial historic value to designate the Fort Area as a 'Heritage Precinct' with a special position as a Conservation Zone. In doing so the city municipality automatically protects approximately half the city's listed heritage stock.¹⁷⁴ The Mumbai Heritage regulation, passed in 1995, is the first significant urban conservation initiative in the country. It embeds lessons in conserving colonial heritage that is largely privately held and forms part of an important 'image center.'

While most heritage buildings in the Fort area were listed in the Development Control Rules, the number designated raised a fundamental issue regarding financing the improvements. In cases where the owners could not afford to preserve their buildings, they perceived the listing of their property as an injustice because they were not being permitted to demolish the old structure to simply exploit its FSI (Floor Space Index) or land value. Secondly, questions were raised as to how realistic it was for the government to prioritize funding for urban conservation given the multitude of pressing needs of the city, specifically the needs to address slums and infrastructure. It was for these reasons that dynamic and self-sustaining financing mechanisms needed to be evolved by harnessing the inherent potential of the precinct itself. This case necessitated the designation of entire areas for conservation to provide a critical mass for effective legislation, financing and implementation mechanisms.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. Mehrotra, 2001, Pg. 158.

¹⁷⁵ Based on Mehrotra & Savant. *The Fort Precinct in Bombay: Conserving an Image Centre - Vol II*. Mumbai: UDRI, 1994, Pg. 8 – 10.



Figure 29: Map of the Fort Precinct in Mumbai showing the various district designations after the 1995 heritage legislation. Source: The Fort Precinct in Bombay - Conserving an Image Centre, 1994

Once designated as a Conservation Area, the Fort Precinct would be perceived as intrinsically tied together as a whole, even in terms of real estate value, by equitably pricing properties for the same use designation. Advocating for a Conservation Area, which balanced the restoration of important buildings with an urban form focus (for those with less architectural merit), seemed far more valid than isolating individual buildings. This approach was preferable for the variety of implementation possibilities it offered including that of weaving historic city centers into the urban milieu of the future. By breaking up large conservation areas into smaller units (or historic districts) then localized actions and the number of players in a particular precinct (Figure 29). “This idea of specialized planning zones versus blanket planning ideas for the city was perhaps the most important lesson that the conservation process of the Fort Area brought to the planning process in Mumbai.”¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. Mehrotra. 2001, Pg. 161.



Figure 30: Aerial view of the Fort precinct showing what today forms the Art District.
Source: Bombay – The Cities Within, pg 117

3.1.2 Local Initiatives towards Financing Conservation:

Corporate Sponsorship & Citizen Action: As discussed in Chapter 2, conservation advocates in Mumbai recognized the need to involve private initiative through corporate sponsorship for the historic precincts of India's financial capital. This was further propelled by the liberalization policies of the Indian government in the early 1990s, where multinational corporations, especially banks and investment companies that were newly entering the Indian market, opted to

locate in the Fort Area and usually in historic buildings. The companies acquired and renovated heritage buildings, keen to be situated in a historic environment, which instantly gave them a distinct identity, credibility and vintage. Simultaneously, to service the city's global clientele including young professionals and expatriates, art galleries, specialty restaurants, boutiques, and travel agencies appeared rapidly in the Fort Area – catalyzing the repurposing of several historic edifices (Figure 30). High fiscal capacity and quality control within financial institutions allowed total restoration and set benchmarks in conservation standards through these projects, spending between Rs 1 to 5 crores (\$200,000 - \$1m), on an individual building.¹⁷⁷

In Mumbai, the banking institutions took the lead and have acquired the reputation of being the single largest private sponsors for architectural conservation in the country, involved in the largest number of restoration projects.¹⁷⁸ Three key projects in this direction have been:

1. The restoration of the American Express Bank near Flora Fountain in the early 1990s,
2. The relocation of the Deutsche Bank to the rehabilitated Tata Palace,
3. The rehabilitation of Ralli House as the head office for Tata Consultancy Services.¹⁷⁹

These successes coupled with the creation of Specialized Planning Zones led to the formation of individual districts, based on functional grouping, within the Fort area. It utilized community and adaptive use as key conservation tools – thereby effectively implementing heritage legislation. By involving a broad range of professionals and NGOs who understood the

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. Mehrotra, 2001, Pg. 158 – 159.

¹⁷⁸ Op. Cit. Lambah, 2012. Pg. 427.

¹⁷⁹ The TCS House, built in 1922 and remodeled in 1966, was originally known as the Ralli House. The house is a Grade II-A heritage structure. Key existing structural elements were either left untouched or temporarily strengthened. Interior and exterior frame reinforcement was introduced for additional bracing. The terrace floor slab, existing beams and columns were demolished. <http://www.unescobkk.org/?id=7969>; accessed 28 March 2013.

implications of the legislation, the nature of the city was transformed through corporate patronage. The three successful district designations, which emerged were:



Figure 31: Area map and views of the Horniman Circle Banking District. The map highlights all national and international banks in the area. Source: Map - Horniman Circle – A Banking District, pg 14; Images - Bombay – The Cities Within, Pg. 88.

1. The Horniman Circle Banking District: A study conducted by the Horniman Circle

Association (HCA), a local citizen's group for the restoration of heritage buildings around the Circle,¹⁸⁰ found that within its 500 meters area radius almost all banks in the country could be

¹⁸⁰ Situated in the Fort precinct, Horniman Circle Gardens is one among the largest parks in southern Mumbai. Various office buildings, mainly comprising the city's premier banks, surround this garden in a circular arrangement with neo-classical arcaded facades. The Horniman Circle Gardens covers 12,081 square yards (10,101 sq. m) and is designed with a huge open space with grand buildings towards the center. This garden was famously known as 'Bombay Green' in the 18th century. The Horniman Circle Garden Trust and the Horniman Circle Association are responsible for the restoration works of this, once damaged, historic landmark. Extracted from: <http://www.mumbai.org.uk/parks-gardens/horniman-circle-gardens.html>; accessed 4 April 2013.

found. More than 33 banks were located within walking distance of each other, serving as the financial nerve center (Figure 31). Based on this, the HCA floated the idea of the Banking District, whereby financial institutions could contribute towards the architectural restoration of their buildings along with maintaining the surrounding historic landscape. Other core concerns such as future pedestrianization and traffic management schemes to enhance the working conditions in this busy node were also proposed.



Figure 32: Arcaded buildings along a segment of Horniman Circle before and after restoration.
Source: Abha Narain Lambah Associates.

Banks spearheaded the effort by endorsing the Association's mission, enrolling as members and galvanizing other corporate patrons to follow suit. The corpus fund collected was utilized for buildings that were unable to finance their own restoration due to multiple tenancy or other hardships. The HCA formulated a strategy whereby seed money or soft loans for restoration projects were offered along with professional expertise and technical assistance. Today three of out eight neo-classical facades lining the Circle have been restored by the

Association and two more have been taken up by a local bank, conforming to guidelines drawn up by the HCA (Figure 32). The Association has also invested in street furniture and signage control initiatives for the area.¹⁸¹



Figure 33: Map of the Kala Ghoda Art District.
Source: The Fort Precinct in Bombay - Conserving an Image Centre, 1994.

2. The Kala Ghoda Art District: The efforts in the banking district triggered a similar study of the Kala Ghoda area,¹⁸² with the intention of synergizing local resources for conservation. To

¹⁸¹ Based on Lambah, 2012. Pg. 429.

catalyze the process of evolving an Art District, local residents, corporate houses and art gallery owners formed a public trust, the Kala Ghoda Association (KGA) in 1998. The intention was not only to promote the idea of an Art District, but to also organize sponsorship for its improvement, restoration and conservation (Figure 33). Plans were set afoot to organize a physical upgrading of the area as well as to host an arts festival in February each year.¹⁸³ The KGA petitioned the local government for official designation, which was granted in 1999. A two-week annual art festival (the first one was held in February 1998) was devised as one way of fundraising to physically improve the area as well as draw attention to the conservation of its historic buildings and their collective value (Figure 34).

The Kala Ghoda Art Mart, a public event that followed the first art festival, was organized in 2000 to further the cause. Co-ordinated by local art houses such as Gallery Chemould, the Jindal Art Foundation, it was supported by Jehangir Art Gallery and Cafe Samovar, while others contributed paintings and sculptures from their collection.¹⁸⁴ These were

¹⁸² The Kala Ghoda precinct can be roughly defined as the area that stretches from the Regal Circle at the southern end of Mahatma Gandhi Road, up to the Bombay University on the northern end, flanked by the Oval Maidan to the west and the Lion Gate to the east. Today, the area is a hub of cultural activity, with a high concentration of museums, art galleries, cultural institutes – and a throbbing urban node with a host of famous city restaurants and cafes, smaller art galleries, designer boutiques, and other related activities. The area also has a strong visual image, reinforced by historic buildings, perhaps the finest concentrated collection of heritage structures in the city. The Elphinstone College and David Sassoon Library are in the Victorian Neo-Gothic genre, the Prince of Wales Museum is in the Indo-Saracenic style, The Army & Navy Building reflects the vocabulary of the Renaissance Revival, and the Cowasji Jehangir Hall in the Edwardian Neo-Classical in Mumbai. Extracted from “Buildings in the Kala Ghoda Art District,” http://www.udri.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=75&Itemid=6; accessed 4 April 2013.

¹⁸³ “Kala Ghoda: Changing Vistas,” <http://www.artistscentre.org/theartdistrict.htm>; accessed 4 April 2013.

¹⁸⁴ “Art Mart to Raise Funds for Kala Ghoda District,” *Indian Express*, Mumbai, 9 August 1999

meant to drive the restoration process, though historically Kala Ghoda was never considered an art district.¹⁸⁵ The money generated, a total of Rs. 15 lakhs, supported a corpus to fund public



Figure 34: Installations and art displays at the annual Kala Ghoda Art Festival animates the heritage precinct where imposing public buildings provide a historic backdrop.

Source: Kala Ghoda Association.

infrastructure improvement and conservation in the area.¹⁸⁶ The funds also contributed to the restoration of Elphinstone College, exteriors of Cama Hall and invested in street furniture, facade illumination for the David Sassoon Library and pavement maintenance along Rampart Row.¹⁸⁷

3. The Ballard Estate Corporate District: Ballard Estate,¹⁸⁸ the city's corporate nerve center was established in the early 20th century, and became the third precinct to join the districting

¹⁸⁵ Op. Cit. Mehrotra, 2004, Pg. 29.

¹⁸⁶ Op. Cit. Lambah, 2012. Pg. 428.

¹⁸⁷ "Kala Ghoda Art District: Targets and Projects Undertaken," <http://www.kalaghodaassociation.com/aboutus.aspx>; accessed 4 April 2013.

¹⁸⁸ Built on reclaimed land between 1914-1918, Ballard Estate was a purpose-built business and commercial district supervised by the Bombay Port Trust. The chief architect George Wittet ensured a uniformity of architectural style, alluding to the English Renaissance reminiscent of Edwardian London. Set within wide tree-lined streets, its design was an intended move, to geographically and architecturally cut off from the chaos of Victorian-Gothic Bombay. The area housed many of the major colonial shipping, engineering and agency houses including Balmer. Lawrie & Co, Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co, Shaw, Wallace & Co, Marshall & Sons and the British India Steam Navigation Co.

movement by bringing together various business houses in the area. This began in 1999 with the preparation of an Urban Management Proposal, funded jointly by the local non-profit Bombay First¹⁸⁹ and the Ballard Estate Welfare Association (BEWA) (Figure 35). The Plan prepared by UDRI conducted a set of surveys and studies, strongly advocating the creation of a Business Improvement District¹⁹⁰ (BID) for Ballard Estate. It also identified a set of critical next steps, involving over all zoning and planning policies, individual designs for street furniture and restoration of heritage buildings, to be undertaken through a combined effort of building owners, BEWA, corporate bodies and local executive agencies.¹⁹¹

The concept of the BID was modeled on Times Square in New York, where local businesses, community boards, city agencies and not-for-profit organizations work in tandem to provide supplementary public services, and pool resources for enhancing their own neighborhood. In the Indian context it was viewed as a viable and effective model given the

¹⁸⁹ Bombay First, founded in 1994, is a non-profit think tank for the city. Modeled on London First, it represents public and private sector partnerships involving business houses, financial institutions, NGOs and government bodies. Its mission is to serve the city with the best that private business can offer through partnerships with government and civil society. http://www.mumbaifirst.org/vision_mission.html; accessed 4 April 2013.

¹⁹⁰ Hoyt & Gopal-Agge, 2007, Pg. 948 – 949.

All BIDs are created by municipal designation pursuant to the authority granted by state-level enabling legislation. These laws vary across countries and sometimes states require a ballot of relevant stakeholders to approve the institution of a BID for the area. Once established, BIDs typically implement services either as nonprofit organizations, private-public or public-nonprofit partnerships. The BID model is grounded in the concept of a benefit assessment district that allows for tax assessments on properties within a defined geographic area, whereby the revenues generated are directed back to the district. This special assessment or ability to tax and therefore provide constituent members in a specific geography with supplemental public services gives the BID model considerable autonomy in problem solving. It is seldom the only source of funding because BIDs are innovative fundraisers that typically rely on several sources of revenue to sustain their operations.

¹⁹¹ Ballard Estate Urban Management Plan, Project Abstract - http://www.udri.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=60&tmpl=component&Itemid=5; accessed 4 April 2013.

financial limitations of local municipal agencies alone.¹⁹² Consultation support was sought from United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to introduce the concept of BID to the city and assist Bombay First in mobilizing core support for the creation of such a district. Over forty leaders including senior executives with businesses in the area and the Municipal Commissioner were included in the process that concluded with a formal launch. Following this affirmation the proposal was submitted for State Legislature approval.¹⁹³



Figure 35: Map of the Ballard Estate Corporate District.
Source: The Fort Precinct in Bombay - Conserving an Image Centre, 1994.

¹⁹² Ibid. Lambah, 2012. Pg. 430.

¹⁹³ Akhtar Badshah, Andrew Lambert & Colleen Pacheco. "Final Report on Asia Pacific Cities Forum Agenda & Workshop" USAID, April 1999.
http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACF087.pdf; accessed 4 April 2013.

The scheme addressed Ballard Estate's contemporary realities and envisaged general cleanliness, additional public facilities, creation of food courts and recreation-cum-service courts in the open spaces, installing harmonious street furniture, providing a visitor management plan and launching projects to rejuvenate the place after working hours (Figure 36). In 2004, a pilot project along J. N. Heredia Road was undertaken, with Depe Global Shipping Agencies as primary sponsors. They occupied several offices in Hamilton House, a prominent stone-faced building on the street. Following this was an initiative to maintain and make accessible the rear courtyards of major office buildings. These large open spaces were largely used as garbage dumps and were now proposed for public use as plazas, art and food courts, service areas and amphitheatres. The basic financial premise of this model was to invite local businesses and corporates to sponsor individual projects that were being implemented in their vicinity. BEWA, unlike the Kala Ghoda Association, preferred not to build up a corpus for this upgrade but involved a variety of donors for different segments and streets.¹⁹⁴

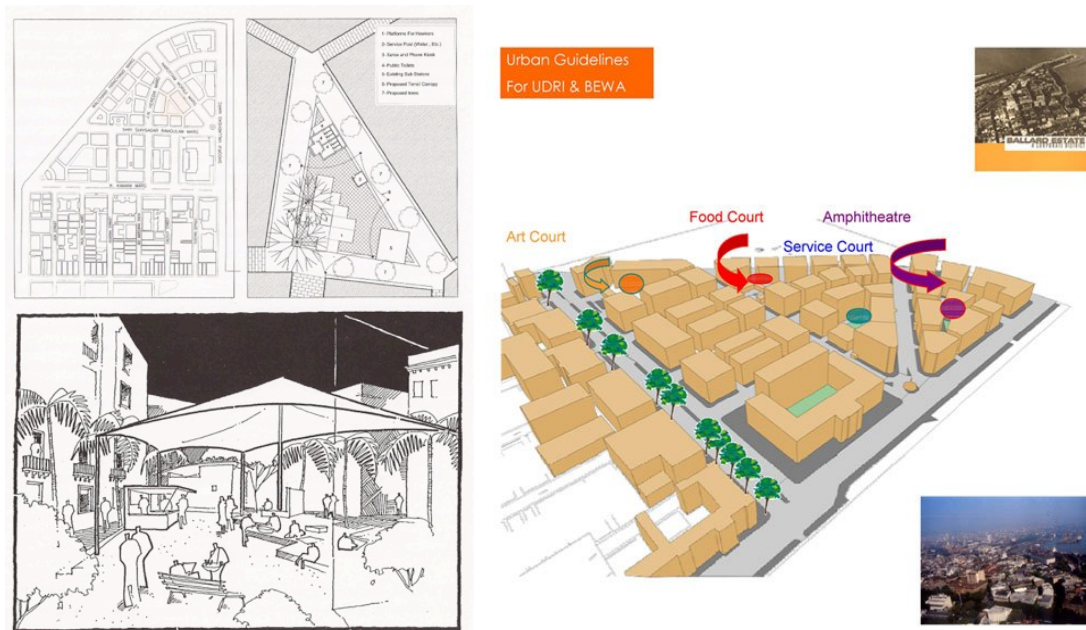


Figure 36: Proposals for the Ballard Estate Business Improvement District.
Sources: (left) Ballard Estate – A Corporate District; (right) Abha Narain Lambah Associates.

¹⁹⁴ “Ballard Estate Makeover Plans to Take Off,” The Times of India, Mumbai, 20 April 2004.

3.2 Municipal Efforts for Economic Regeneration: Walled City, Ahmedabad

3.2.1 The Urban Context:

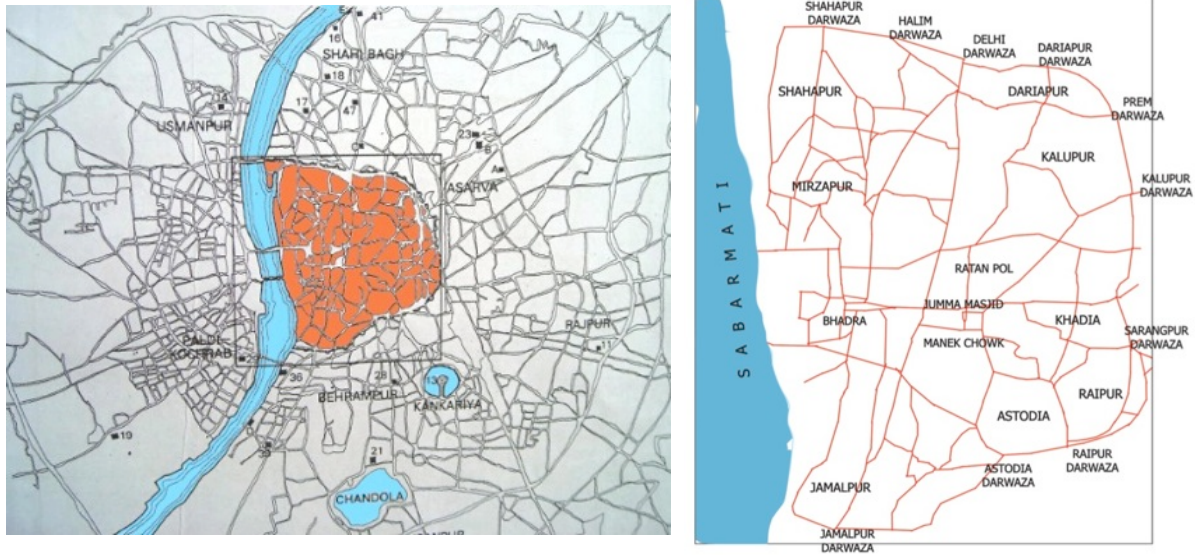


Figure 37: Location and context map of the Walled City of Ahmedabad
Source: A History of Interior Design in India, Volume 1 – Ahmedabad, 2008



Figure 38: Archival image of a typical inner city neighborhood or 'pol' in Ahmedabad, c. 19th century. Visible is the entrance gate and narrow streets with wood-carved *haveli* facades.
Source: Ahmedabad Heritage Cell.

Characteristic of a medieval walled city, the 600-year old historic core of Ahmedabad is defined by a close-knit system of cul-de-sacs branching from an interlinked road network connecting the twelve city gates. Its density of development, at least five times more than the newer city that lies west of the Sabarmati river, is barely relieved by the narrow streets, occasionally opening up at junctions to form community spaces (Figure 37). Each neighborhood known a *pol* within a *pur* (settlement) was a natural response to its medieval history, being typically fraught with incidences of unrest and disorder during periods of political instability.¹⁹⁵ The situation had instinctively prompted the structuring and growth of this residential dwelling pattern with defense as an important criterion. Often called *pol* houses in Ahmedabad's context, these were built on deep plots with a narrow street frontage and shared walls with other adjoining houses (Figure 38). The generally rectangular house-form was mostly three-storied with a central courtyard and a linear, tripartite organization.¹⁹⁶

With the 2011 population within this quarter estimated to be 3.3 lakh¹⁹⁷ people, there have been significant pressures on the urban infrastructure and quality of life. The key challenges facing the AMC and its heritage program include commercial activity that is attracting large volumes of traffic; congestion and lack of parking space; the subdivision of housing units; changes in land use and the resultant breakdown of the traditional social fabric;

¹⁹⁵ Extracted from the UNESCO World Heritage City Tentative List:

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5616/>; accessed 28 March 2013.

The historic city of Ahmedabad is constituted out of residential settlements 'Pol' and has a specific scale of its community based settlement grouping. Several of such settlements combined together forms a 'Pur' - neighborhood and the historic city has several 'Pur' neighborhoods forming the entire fortified historic city. These various 'Pur' have its own urban structure, which is self sufficient for the communities, where each 'Pol' once again is a self-sufficient unit.

¹⁹⁶ Chauhan, Muktirajsinhji & Kamalika Bose, *A History of Interior Design in India, Volume I – Ahmedabad*, pg. 15, 18.

¹⁹⁷ 'More Elbow Room in Walled City Too,' The Times of India, Ahmedabad, 15 June 2009

and a lack of awareness and appreciation of traditional architecture with its inherent advantages.¹⁹⁸ Census trends also indicate that population loss and migration to newer areas of the city are becoming issues for this older quarter. It is perhaps here that the city agency's heritage conservation efforts need to dovetail with the future demographic and economic health of the Walled City area (Figure 39). This comes in tandem with the Walled City being included on the tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage Cities in 2011, after a detailed dossier was prepared to identify heritage resources. Plans for its long-term management are underway.¹⁹⁹



Figure 39: Neighborhood character and community spaces as seen today, Lambeshwar ni pol in Kalupur, Ahmedabad. Source: Ahmedabad Heritage Cell.

3.2.2 Local Initiatives towards Financing Conservation:

The first wave of municipal led revitalization efforts in Ahmedabad was between 1997 and 2004 (discussed in Chapter 2). In this phase, mobilizing local communities through heritage education, walks and awareness programs was a tangible achievement that has largely continued and diversified over the years. The celebration of Ahmedabad Heritage Week, a

¹⁹⁸ Based on Nayak, Debashish, 'Revitalising our Walled Cities,' *Seminar Magazine*, Pg. 4.

¹⁹⁹ D. P. Bhattacharya, "Joining Heritage Dots: Ahmedabad Gears up to Make Bid for Spot on Coveted UNESCO List," *Mail Online*, 19 March 2012.

Heritage Film Festival and the emergence of other non-profits such as Vaarso Foundation²⁰⁰ and Ahmedabad Heritage Foundation bolster and carry forward this movement. Yet the supply of funds for physical rehabilitation proposed through non-local sources, such as HUDCO and the French Government collaborations, proved to be unsustainable over a longer period. Cities authorities can responsibly carry forward developmental goals when funds are generated locally. Public Private Partnerships are one significant method to raise funds and demonstrate accountability²⁰¹ in urban conservation projects.

Since the enactment of heritage legislation in 2010, Ahmedabad has been looking at models to involve local corporations and preservation-oriented real estate developers to partner with the municipality and carry forward its mission. The approach is yet untested in the Indian context and brings economic development to the heart of the conservation initiative. Its success and on-ground feasibility is contingent to progressive building laws and municipal regulations, which need to alter in tandem, to benefit both the local community and potential investors. The AMC's role in facilitating this arm of the process is significant and the following set of measures enumerates how the city agency has braced up to partner urban conservation through incentivization. This can then be viewed as the second wave of revitalization efforts by the city municipality. Key steps in that direction include the following examples.

1. Formation of the City Heritage Center (CHC): A non-profit organization, formed by local developers Rakesh Patel, Rupesh Salot, Pravesh Mehta and Rajiv Patel in 2010, the CHC²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Vaarso Foundation: <http://www.vaarso.com/behind-it.html>; accessed 19 March 2013.

²⁰¹ Somik V. Lall, Chapter 3: Financing Cities, in *Planning, Connecting, and Financing Cities—Now: Priorities for City Leaders*, Washington DC: The World Bank, 2013. Pg. 71-72.

²⁰² City Heritage Center, Ahmedabad - CHC is formed to help protect, preserve and restore Heritage Buildings on a Continuous basis by channelizing the talent and efforts of all those interested in heritage conservation. It's mission is to: Build new capacity in heritage architecture, heritage conservation heritage business promotion, heritage

assists the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) in program and policy formation for the conservation of heritage in the Walled City. Its key mission is to make such rehabilitation economically viable for the local community and city agency. The recent acquisition and restoration of the 250-year old Diwanji ni Haveli in Sankhedi Shedi by CHC as its office and outreach facility with future plans for a technical center for restoration, along with a privately-run education center, offering courses in heritage carpentry and diplomas in historical restorations,²⁰³ is one step in that direction. Other key efforts, as part of a MoU signed with the AMC are:

1A. Creation of a Technical Cell: Both the AMC and CHC will facilitate the creation of a Technical Cell consisting of master craftsman, architects, engineers, supervisors and project managers to undertake a restoration campaign of 20 pilot projects. This will be selected from the Grade 1, 2A and 2B listed structures by creating a revenue model for each and not just be restricted to physical restoration.

1B. Creation of the People's Heritage Fund (PHF): This fund is based on learning best practices from two international models for inner city revitalization. The first is the 55-year-old business plan that helped revive the historic core of Amsterdam with a revenue generation model, proposed by Stadsherstel, a limited liability company. Efforts are centered on buying and rehabilitating the most threatened heritage properties as affordable housing, while using the income generated for long term maintenance. The second follows the American model of Initiative for a Competitive Inner City (ICIC), where economic prosperity through private sector

craftsmanship, heritage movement; Create and disseminate data base relating to heritage conservation; Cooperate with other bodies and persons interested in our mission to strengthen the movement. Extracted from <http://www.cityhc.org/>; accessed 19 March 2013.

²⁰³ Rane, Sangeeta. "Splendour Returns home to Diwanji ni Haveli," The Times of India, Ahmedabad, 9 November 2011.

investment leads to job creation, and income for local residents. The PHF aims to adapt both these models for the Walled City's physical and social context by harnessing the new economy and services available today. Funding will be directed to the following core agendas:

Implementing a Mutual Fund model: By purchasing and rehabilitating threatened historic properties through adaptive use, the CHC will help owners to build value for their properties.²⁰⁴ Presently underway are two pilot projects in Kalupur, a *haveli* in Doshiwada *ni pol* and the Kala Ramji Mandir in Haja Patel *ni pol*(Figure 40). Within this funding model, two implementation types have been evolved, one for Grade 1 and 2A properties which have stringent heritage regulations and another for Grade 2B and 3 where a greater degree of internal change is permissible (Figure 41 and 42). This road map is envisioned to encourage cluster conservation and redevelopment, by creating a 'building bank' through socially compatible uses such as new affordable housing, schools with hostels, canteens, caf  s, old age homes, and healthcare facilities.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Rajiv Patel, the managing trustee of City Heritage Centre was of the opinion that, "under restoration project, the proposed plan is to help restore the building and based on the requirement of the owner, revenue model for the buildings will be proposed. For instance, either a bed and breakfast scheme can be offered to the tourists or an art gallery can be created in the building. As per the model, nothing will be charged from the owners rather they would gain from the revenue generated from the business." As many as 12,502 heritage buildings have been listed out after field surveys jointly carried out by AMC and French experts under revitalization of the walled city of Ahmedabad project. Based on the building value and type, these are divided into three categories with 458 buildings listed as most valuable and in need of immediate restoration work. Extracted from Sharma, Ritu, "55-yr-old Amsterdam Plan to Revive Heritage Buildings in City," Express India, 18 October 2012

²⁰⁵ Obtained from Report on 'People's Heritage Fund: A Road Map to Revive and Elevate Inner Cities,' prepared by City Heritage Center, Ahmedabad.

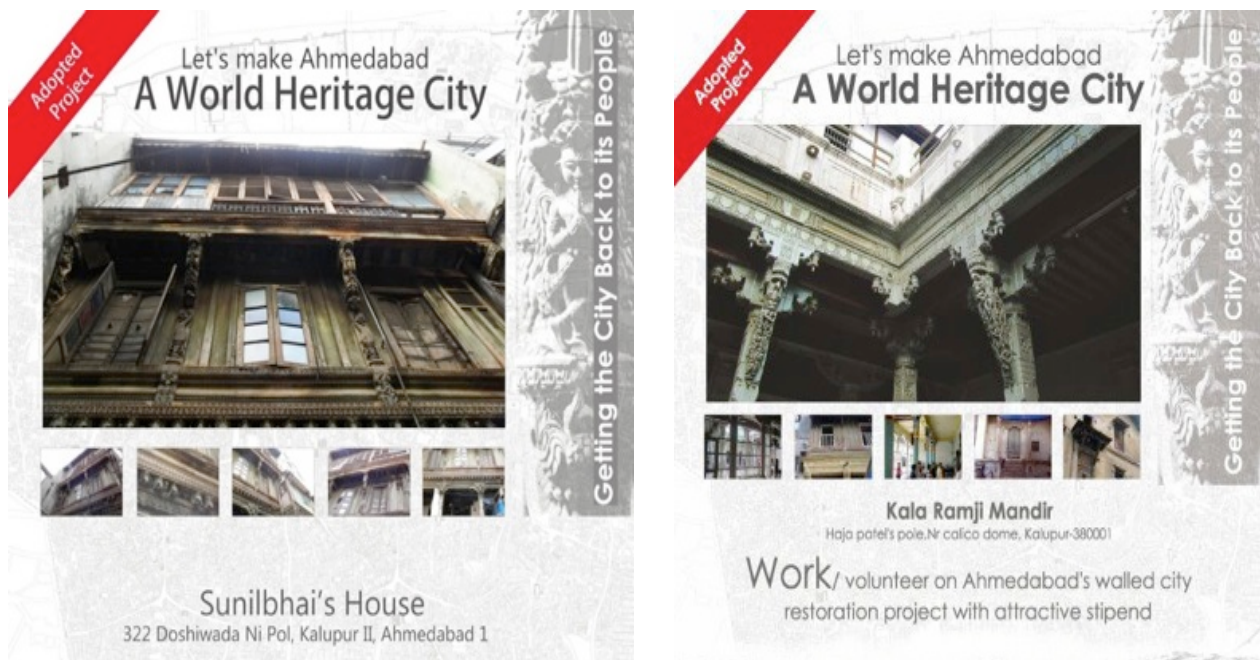


Figure 40: Publicity brochures for two rehabilitation projects undertaken as part of the adoption model for heritage buildings. Source: City Heritage Center

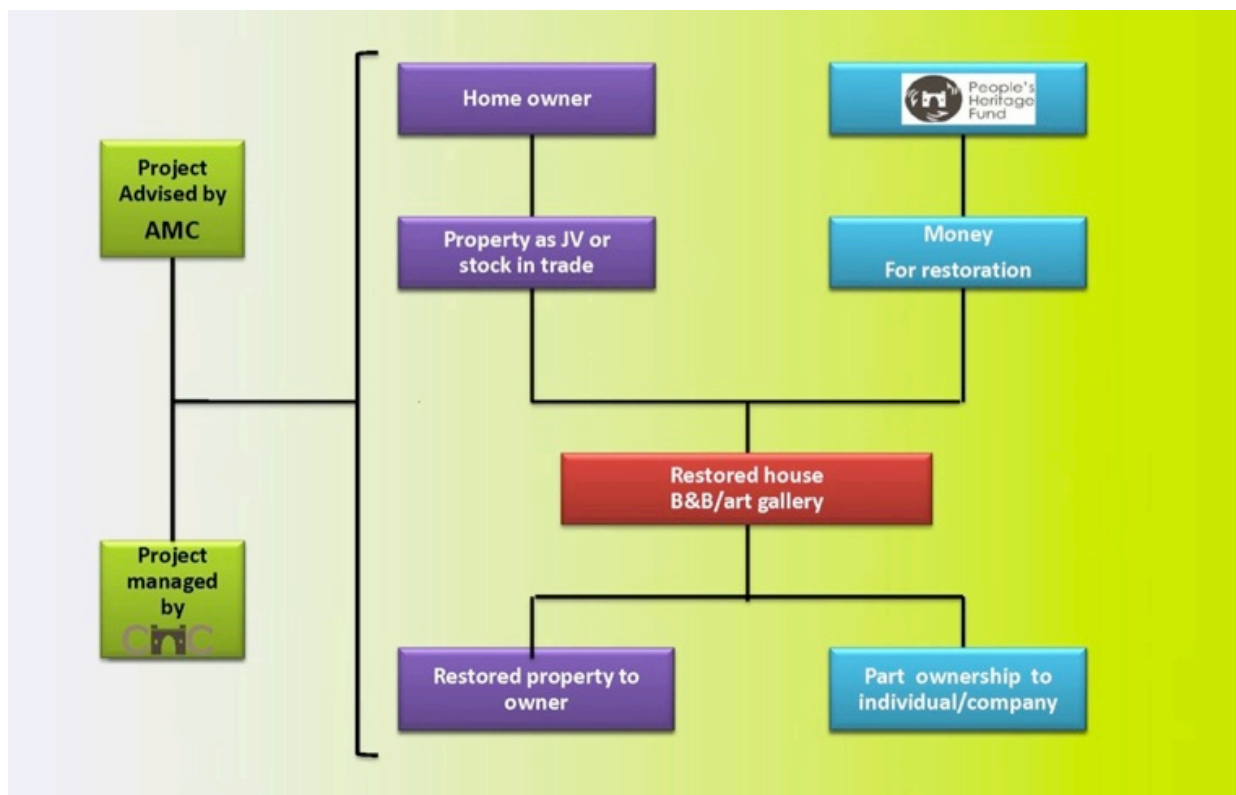


Figure 41: Implementation Structure of Revenue Model for Grade 1 & 2A. Source: City Heritage Center, Ahmedabad

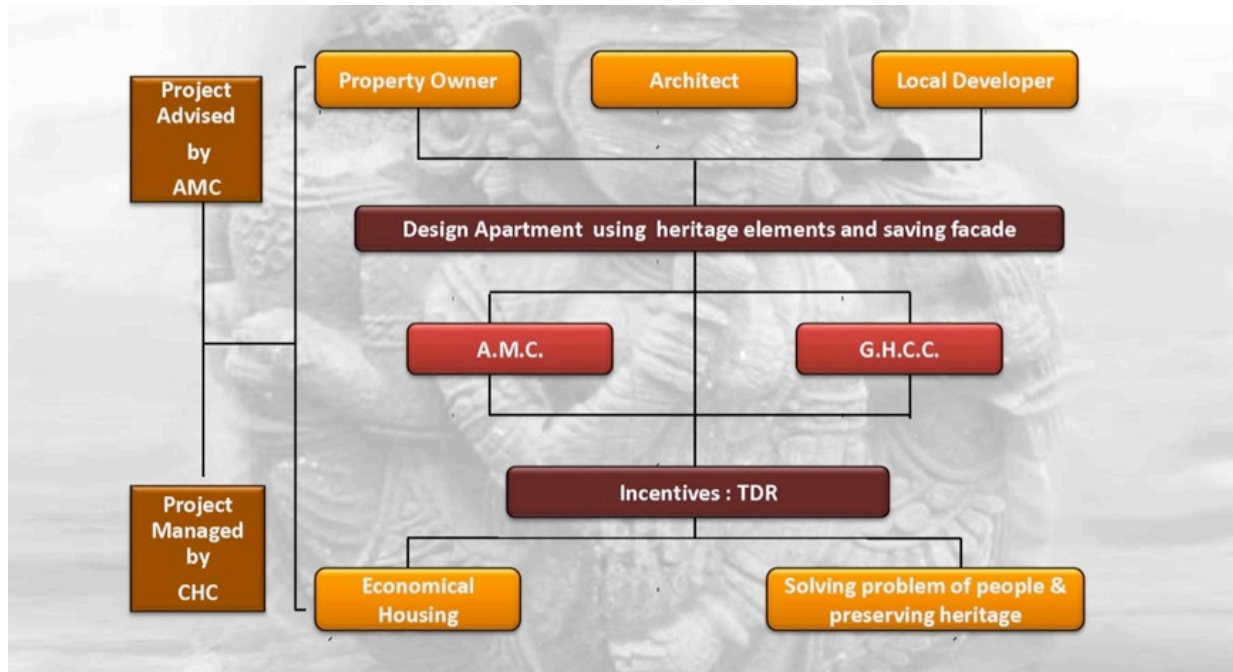


Figure 42: Implementation Structure of Revenue Model for Grade 2B & 3 into Refurbished Housing. Source: City Heritage Center, Ahmedabad

Adoption of Heritage Buildings by Corporate Houses and Individual Donors: This partnership will be extended to historic public buildings, noteworthy *havelis* and community spaces. In this model, a donor can contribute any desired amount towards repairs of a section of heritage properties (Figure 43). The CHC draws up a list of heritage buildings for circulation to potential donors along with a five point agenda for adoption and regulations pertaining to the building. Pilot projects are underway in Gangadiya *ni pol* and Raghunathbamb *ni pol* in Manek Chowk area. Another donor, Deep Group of Companies and local architect Hiren Patel have provided an initial 'motivational fund' of Rs 9 lakh façade and structural stabilization of a *haveli* in Doshiwada *ni pol* along with its adaptive use.²⁰⁶ The modalities of this donor-based adoption program are:

²⁰⁶ Paul John, "Amdavadis Chip in to Save Heritage Homes," The Times of India, Ahmedabad, 18 December 2011.

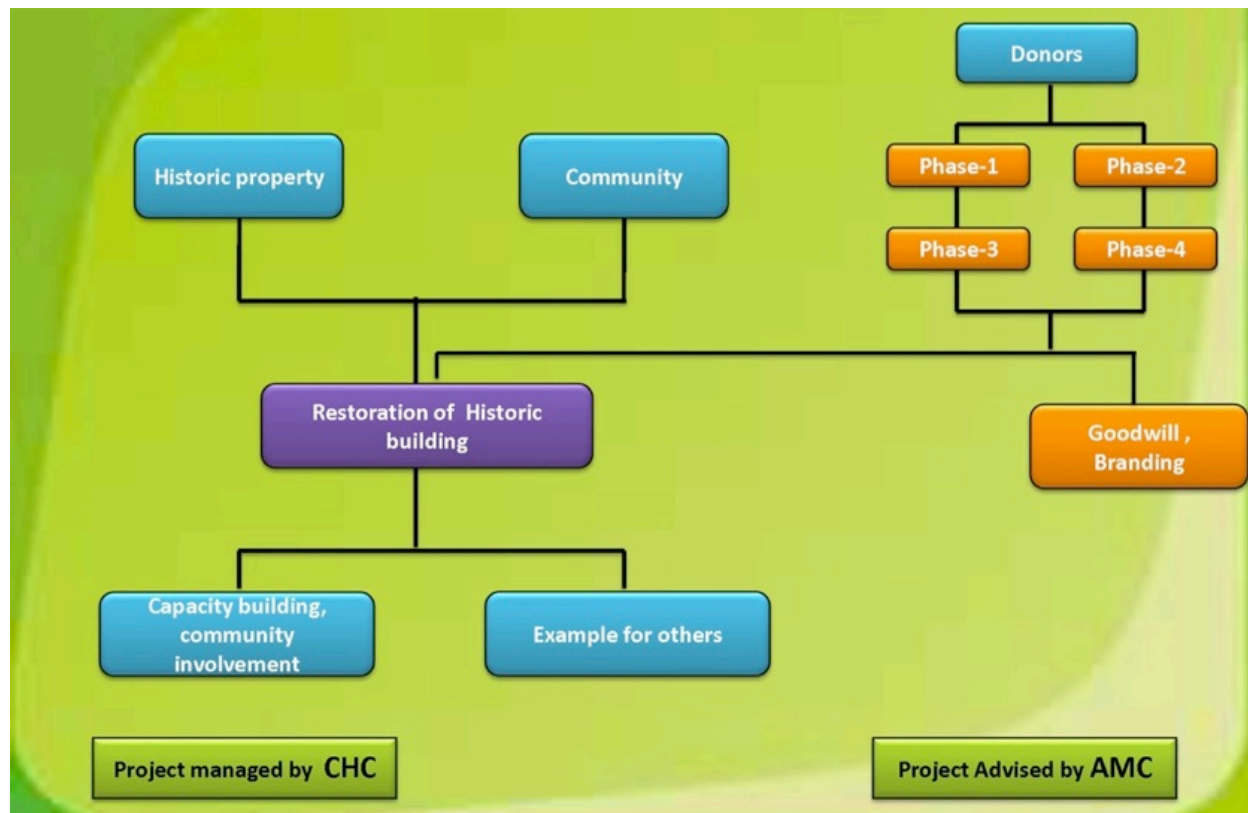


Figure 43: Structure for Donor-based Adoption of Heritage Building Program.

Source: City Heritage Center, Ahmedabad

2. *Economic Incentives by Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC)*: In the first phase of conservation efforts, the agency through its Heritage Cell had played the role of a facilitator, providing technical and regulatory assistance for partnership initiatives. In the current phase, its efforts are directed towards creating a Built Heritage Policy, a prerequisite for UNESCO World Heritage City status. As AMC plans to submit the final application to UNESCO in 2014, a dossier that includes heritage policies that address laws against illegal construction, tax incentive for heritage home owners, saleable FSI for owners, and disaster management plan could be taken as a reasonable goal.²⁰⁷ This planning is also in keeping with additional funding possibilities

²⁰⁷ Paul John, "Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation Plans Aid for Heritage Building Owners Soon," *The Times of India*, Ahmedabad, 24 December 2012.

through the second phase of JNNURM for 2013, which lays “emphasis on projects that will help improve the living conditions in historic precincts of Indian cities.”²⁰⁸ The following incentives are thus proposed:

2A. Transferable Development Rights (TDR): The Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority (AUDA) has incorporated TDR for heritage properties in the walled city in its most recent draft Development Control Regulations. These state that an “FSI of 0.4 will be assigned for every heritage structure of Grade 1 category that can be leased or sold to a developer.”²⁰⁹ The money generated in turn will be ploughed back into the restoration and maintenance cycle. A Corpus Fund that sponsors building documentation, restoration and reuse feasibility proposals along with a Repair Fund for private, graded heritage buildings at risk are of the two proposed methods to utilize the TDR based income. This system is being viewed by the agency as more sophisticated than the Mumbai model and a landmark policy decision for the city.

In the present market, for a Grade 1 haveli in the pol, spread over 1000 sq. m could get a saleable FSI of 0.4. This affords it an additional 400 sq. m to sell, lease out or transfer. At an average cost of Rs. 22,000 per sq.m, this additional income would be put into restoration and rehabilitation of the property. Such provisions can aid efforts by City Heritage Center and other interested investors, who wish to capitalize on the 1680 Grade 1 and 2A heritage properties within the Walled City. It would open up an estimated 67200 sq. m of free FSI that property owners could be monetarily compensated for and is projected to contribute Rs. 147.84 crores into the conservation process in the long run.

²⁰⁸ “Incentives for Heritage Homes,” The Times of India, Ahmedabad, 6 October 2012

²⁰⁹ “Heritage gets Boost: Property Owners can Sell FSI to Conserve Legacy,” The Times of India, Ahmedabad, 2 February 2013.

2B. Change of Use and Tax Benefits: The Built Heritage Policy further incorporates change in use permissions whereby the largely residential nature of the heritage properties can be used for commercial ventures. This would give impetus to adaptive use and propel investment through revenue-generating activities. The Policy recommends “heritage property owners should also be allowed exemption from paying property tax and up to 50 per cent exemption in local taxes.”²¹⁰

3.3 Leveraging International Action and Aid for Local Preservation Goals: French & Tamil towns in Pondicherry

3.3.1 The Urban Context:

The present Union Territory²¹¹ of Pondicherry consists of a historic core that is emblematic of rich cross-cultural diversity induced by ‘Indo-French’ influence on the town. Along with other French colonies in India that supported maritime activities – such as Chandernagore, Mahe, Karaikal and Yanam – it represents the principles of French urban design and planning along with decorative elements that were assimilated into both the vernacular and colonial architecture. As a French trading post for nearly 300 years (1674-1954), Pondicherry’s city walls was destroyed by the English in 1761, but their layout can be seen in the outer ring roads of the city.²¹² This boulevard town has inherited a significant architectural heritage evidenced from its well-planned grid-patterned layout comprising of the two distinct French and Tamil settlements (Figure 44). Detached mansions set within gardens and courtyards, behind

²¹⁰ “Extra FSI Proposed to Boost Heritage,” *Times of India*, Ahmedabad, 12 August 2010.

²¹¹ A Union Territory is a framework of governance in India that is ruled directly by the Central government. The President of India appoints an administrator or Lieutenant-Governor for each territory. Pondicherry, which was formed out of four French enclaves (now known as Pondicherry was given partial statehood and has its own elected legislative assemblies and the executive councils of ministers.

²¹² “History of Pondicherry.” On <http://www.lesamisdupatrimoinepondicherien.org/Pondicherry-india.html>; accessed on 1 March 2013.

ornate gateways, typically characterize the French streets. Those in the Tamil town are recognized by their *thinnai* (masonry bench for visitors and pilgrims), *thalavaram* (colonnaded veranda with tiled sloping roof) and carved wooden doors. The first floor displays French influences like protruding, wrought-iron balcony, high ceilings, louvered windows and arched doorways.²¹³ A synthesis of these two styles has resulted in a town that has a unique ‘Franco-Tamil’ architectural identity (Figure 45).



Figure 44: Context map with typical streetscape, French and Tamil Towns, Pondicherry
Source: INTACH, Pondicherry Chapter.

²¹³ “Where France Meets India,”
http://www.harmonyindia.org/hportal/VirtualPageView.jsp?page_id=11310&index1=1;
accessed 19 March 2013.



Figure 45: Streetscapes, Tamil and French quarters, Pondicherry.
Source: INTACH Pondicherry.

Pondicherry, planned by the French, as a colony in the mid 18th century was never a monocentric town but contained at least three centers. These included:

1. The market and other public buildings erected where the ancient city temple stood,
2. The government square with major French buildings around it, and
3. The church and seminary with Indian Christian population around it.

This polycentric nature, that is evident even today, grew further after the arrival of Sri Aurobindo in 1890 and the subsequent establishment of his Ashram²¹⁴ and Auroville nearby. Presently the Union Government and its bureaucratic center largely occupy the French quarter. The

²¹⁴ Rishi Aurobindo Ghosh, a revolutionary freedom fighter and later spiritual leader founded the Ashram in 1926. Under the Mother's spiritual guidance, it is now a diversified community with almost 1200 members. With 400 students of the Centre of Education and several devotees who live in the area, the larger ashram community consists of more than 2000 people. It is a significant driving force in the socio-cultural and urban landscape of Pondicherry. More information can be sourced at <http://www.sriurobindoashram.org/index.php>; accessed on 5 April 2013.

Aurobindo Ashram also owns many buildings here. The Hindu population dwells around the older settlement segregated on caste lines around the temple.²¹⁵

Today Pondicherry is on the road to fast-paced urbanization with over two-thirds of the population living in urban areas. This densification over the last two decades has led to severe stress on the infrastructure facilities and urban amenities, shortage in housing, traffic congestion, degraded socio-economic conditions, and the deterioration of the historic environment and quality of life. Integrating the past with fast paced urban growth poses a serious challenge to planners and policy makers. There is a rapid loss of heritage stock while the new buildings replacing them are often incongruous concrete constructions, which fail to complement the façade unity of its traditional streets.²¹⁶

3.3.2 Local Initiatives towards Financing Conservation

1. *By Non-Profit Organizations:* The historic fabric of the French and Tamil towns, bordered by the boulevard, has been at the forefront of several initiatives by stakeholders with diverse interests in its history, heritage and future. A collaborative and knowledge-sharing approach has been key to their working and laid foundations of success. The significant interest of French cultural organizations working in India and abroad has been of paramount importance in steering this process – both independently and collectively with local agencies. The Friends of Pondicherry Heritage (FPH), based in Paris and with a local action office in the city, has been one such association. FPH harness multidisciplinary efforts, ranging from professional expertise

²¹⁵ Based on ‘Colonial Urbanism: A Cross-Cultural Perspective on Pondicherry,’ by K T Ravindran, in “Reminiscences: The French in India.” New Delhi: INTACH, 1997, Pg. 137-139.

²¹⁶ Asia-Urbs Programme: Achieving Urban Economic and Environmental Goals through Heritage Preservation Initiatives, INTACH Pondicherry, July 2002.

to financial assistance that can unify efforts to protect and restore Pondicherry's ancient French and Tamil houses.²¹⁷ It collaborates with other Indo-French cultural centers such as Association France-Union Indienne (AFUI), Centre d'Information et de Documentation de l'Inde Francophone (CIDIF), Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, Institut Français d'Indologie (IFI), Société d'Histoire de Pondichéry (SHP), Vieilles Maisons Françaises (VMF), and La Fondation VMF on conservation initiatives. However the institutional mandate of many cultural organizations, such as the Alliance Française, working in India does not directly enable funding or executing restoration projects. The financial component is then leveraged through fundraising with corporations and individuals. Some pivotal projects through this initiative have been²¹⁸:

1. The reuse of the Colombani House, annex of the Alliance Française as a café, art gallery, and multimedia center about France;
2. The façade restoration of French-Tamil influenced residence of M.C.A. Kalathi Chettiar;
3. And the restoration of the former Hôtel Lagrénée de Mézières, presently used by the sisters of Saint-Joseph de Cluny.

The local INTACH chapter, whose Conservation Cell was set up in 1998 with an initial grant-in-aid from the Town and Country Planning Department, has been another fulcrum for vision and action. INTACH's earliest collaborations were with international partners working in the city, such as the Institut Français de Pondichéry (IFP) and Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient

²¹⁷ Association Mission: Friends of Pondicherry Heritage. This group consists of house-owners, tenants, architects, journalists, students and other heritage enthusiasts in the town who wish to join in the conservation efforts of the Tamil and French towns.
<http://www.lesamisdupatrimoinepondicherien.org/association-preservation-of-French-heritage-India.html>; accessed 1 March 2013.

²¹⁸ Based on Heritage Awards List of FPH:
<http://www.lesamisdupatrimoinepondicherien.org/heritage-awards.html>; accessed 1 March 2013.

(EFEO) to initiate the movement to protect local architectural heritage.²¹⁹ Yet the absence of formal, legal protection of buildings within the precinct has proven to be a huge impediment on this path. A 1995 INTACH survey listed around 1800 heritage structures, of which 600 have already been demolished (by 2004) due to lack to legislation.²²⁰

2. Incentives for Heritage Tourism by Government of Pondicherry: In an attempt to capitalize on the French architectural heritage, coastline tourism and the Aurobindo Ashram's devotee base, the Government of Pondicherry has initiated an active tourism plan with provisions that benefit heritage buildings. This encourages use of listed properties in the cultural tourism and hospitality sectors to provide more economic value for its heritage. It simultaneously aims to provide tourists an authentic experience of Pondicherry's, cultural, spiritual and artistic values, while prioritizing architectural conservation. The following special incentives were announced in 2004, in addition to those available for new projects, to applicants who developed heritage hotels, restaurants, boutiques and other similar activities in listed heritage buildings. These would conform to architectural and conservation guidelines given by the competent authorities from time to time, on a case-by-case basis.²²¹ They include:

- (a) roof repair and façade improvements up to 70% of the cost of work up to a maximum of Rs.1.5 lakhs (per building);
- (b) removal and alterations of existing unsympathetic changes, as pointed by the competent authorities, up to 70% of the cost of work up to a maximum of Rs.1 lakh (per building);
- (c) and construction subsidy for additional lettable rooms built within the conservation norms laid down by the competent authorities, at 20% of the building costs subject to a maximum of Rs.5 lakhs per building.

²¹⁹ <http://www.intachPondicherry.org/English/home.aspx>; accessed 1 March 2013.

²²⁰ "Preserve Pondicherry's Heritage: Lakhera," *Hindu*, 31 July 2004.

²²¹ "Tourism: Financial Incentives for Tourism Investment in the Union Territory of Pondicherry." Department Of Industrial Development (Tourism), Government of Pondicherry. 16 February 2004.

This incentive package did attract high-end private investment in Pondicherry through heritage hotels. A case in point was the opening of 14-room *Hotel De L'Orient*, the first local hospitality venture of Delhi-based Neemrana Group (Figure 46). Buying ‘a listed Grade IIA, 18th century villa belonging to a French family, and occupied by the state education department,’ it started an ongoing trend that has benefited the city’s heritage tourism industry. Soon the repurposing of *Villa Helena*, a small four-room 19th century property and the 18th century *Hotel Le Dupleix*, originally a nine-room French colonial villa, bolstered the boutique hotel market. By taking advantage of government incentives, tax concessions, aid in procuring liquor licenses, and F&B incentives on sales, it proved to be a lucrative venture for private investors.²²²



Figure 46: Hotel De L'Orient, a Neemrana Group property was one of the earliest heritage hotel projects in the city. Source: Neemrana Hotels, <http://hotel-de-lorient.neemranahotels.com/>; (accessed 9 May 2013).

²²² Raghavendra, Nandini. “Heritage Hotels Make Hay from Colonial Past.” The Economic Times, Pondicherry, 23 October 2004.

This policy was amended in 2010, to encourage growth of Budget Hotel Accommodation, by withdrawing the 2004 incentives and announcing a new scheme for heritage hotels, which noted that²²³ :

- (1) the incentive shall be available at Rs.3 lakhs per room subject to a cap of Rs.75 lakhs;
- (2) incentive shall be released to heritage hotels, only if the building is currently listed as a heritage building in this Union Territory and provided further that they conform to the architectural and conservation guidelines laid down by the Competent Authorities viz, Town and Country Planning and INTACH, Pondicherry from time to time;
- (3) demolishing a heritage building and reconstructing a building, as heritage building shall not be treated as “Heritage Hotel”.

3. *International Financing through the Asia-Urbs Program*²²⁴: Pondicherry recognized that the continued attention on public buildings in the French quarter was leading to neglect and dilapidation of the Tamil town and its architectural character. Following a successful application, in July 2002, the Asia Urbs project was undertaken by the municipality to leverage foreign funding and aid local investment for conservation within the Tamil quarter. The Program to assist Asian cities in improving their urban environment in partnership with European cities was an initiative of the European Commission (EC). It required one Asian city to partner at least two European cities and share approaches and experiences in dealing with urban environmental challenges. The project was typically developed over two years where overall costs for implementation were shared between participating cities and the local Asian partner city, with a maximum grant of about 500,000 Euros (22.5 million rupees). The EC contributed up to 65% of

²²³ ““Grant of Financial Incentives for Hotels, Resort and other Tourism Projects in the Union Territory of Pondicherry.” Department Of Industrial Development (Tourism) – Government of Pondicherry. 20 January 2010.

²²⁴ Based on Asia-Urbs Program Brief prepared and provided by INTACH Pondicherry Chapter.

the total project cost and the local partner city (Pondicherry in this case) contributed the balance 35%.²²⁵

The ancient Italian hill town of Urbino, recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage City, provided conservation expertise, while the historic walled city of Villeneuve-sur-Lot, France, shared techniques in urban environment management. Locally, the departments of Tourism, Town and Country Planning, and Pondicherry Planning Authority, collaborated with the municipality. Local NGOs (INTACH, Excellent Novel and Radical, EXNORA, Agence de l'Environnement et de la Maitrise de l'Energie (ADEME) and LAPP) also participated.²²⁶ The program objectives addressed a multitude of prevailing urban issues and explored the ways and means of improving the quality of life and local economy through well-targeted activities. These ranged from upgrading the local urban economy and environment through conservation, initiating participatory and decentralized planning and management practices. They also shared approaches, processes, experiences and information related to the proposed project with various stakeholders. Within urban conservation activities, four key areas were identified for implementation including a heritage walk and developing legislation for protection and conservation practice. While the walk has been actively taking place since, little headway has been made in enacting heritage legislation. INTACH has been working with the local Heritage

²²⁵ Beyond the *architectural conservation strategies* of the Asia Urbs program, aimed at achieving urban economic and environmental goals through heritage preservation initiatives, there were two other components. One was the *Grand Bazaar Revitalization* by undertaking a comprehensive development plan including architectural, engineering and management aspects in consultation with shopkeepers, vendors, local bodies and the general public. This would entail restoration of a segment of the bazaar as a prototype (façade, platform, shading, etc.) while incorporating basic public amenities and sewage and waste management plans. The second was *Urban Environment Management*, which included Non-polluting Traffic and Transportation Initiatives, Historic City Signage System introduction and urban greening practices.

²²⁶ Ramnarayan, Gowri, "A Tale of Three Cities," *Hindu*, 1 August 2004.

Committee within municipal ranks to draft this legislation as an amendment in the Town Planning Act but it has yet to materialize.



Figure 47: Street elevation of Vysial Street in the Tamil town, as restored under the Asia-Urbs Program. Source: INTACH Pondicherry Chapter



Figure 48: Before and after views of Vysial Street in the Tamil town, as restored under the Asia-Urbs Program. Source: INTACH Pondicherry Chapter

1. Model Street Restoration: This was a key project in the Tamil quarter to rehabilitate the traditional streetscape, house facades and urban amenities of an important but dilapidated stretch of the heritage precinct. Calve Supraya Chetty Street, also known as Vysial Street, lying between Mission and Gandhi Streets, was the selected for this pilot project at a restoration cost of about 50,000 Euros (Figure 47). It included the “restoration of the façades of 16 listed heritage buildings and re-designing 8 modern infill buildings to bring back the typical Tamil streetscape. The main objective was to at least preserve one of the few remaining Tamil

streetscapes and evoke pride in the owners, for all to see and admire.”²²⁷ Restoration comprised of repairs and painting of building façades as well as “moving new grills behind old pilasters, replacement of modern tiles with Mangalore, restoring column flutings, exposure of granite thinnai or original plaster.”²²⁸ Improvement of general municipal services like electricity and telephone lines, drainage, sewerage, paving, lamppost installation and street lighting were also conducted (figure 48). This stretch has since been incorporated into the heritage walk trail to promote tourist interest and awareness.

2. Matching Grant Scheme through the creation of a Heritage Fund: Following the guidelines set by the Ministry of Environment and Forests, about 300 buildings in the French town and 1,000 buildings in the Tamil town were identified as heritage buildings. Under this scheme ten heritage buildings were identified for restoration. Matching grants were made available to the amount provided by the owner, with an upper limit of 5,000 Euros. Building owners were assisted in preparing restoration plans and making estimates of the renovation work where expertise was provided by INTACH gratis. “The 200-year-old Societe Progressiste School on Kalathiswaran Koil Street, received Rs 4.2 lakhs against the Rs. 80,000 that it raised”²²⁹ leading to a complete restoration with upgraded amenities for contemporary use.²³⁰

²²⁷ UNESCO Heritage Awards 2008 Citation: Vysial Street;
<http://www.unescobkk.org/?id=7969>; accessed 28 March 2013.

²²⁸ Ibid. Ramnarayan, Gowri, “A Tale of Three Cities,” *Hindu*, 1 August 2004.

²²⁹ Ibid. Ramnarayan, Gowri.

²³⁰ One of the oldest schools in Pondicherry, the Societe Progressiste School was built in the local Franco-Tamil style. The school was founded in 1880 for Tamil students to learn French as they were not allowed in the French schools at that time and French was a working language in government offices. Today, the school continues its operations, with a focus on providing education especially to poor children. UNESCO Heritage Awards 2008 Citation: Societe Progressiste School; <http://www.unescobkk.org/?id=7969>; accessed 28 March 2013.

3.4 Case Conclusions:

The yardsticks for measuring success in urban conservation projects can become an extremely subjective issue. As discussed in Chapter 1 it is further complicated when, in the Indian context, an economic argument is introduced as conservation's core driving engine. And yet it is important to do so, for multiple reasons. In India, preservation is a relatively young and evolving field, and the appropriate use and validity of financial tools for such regeneration continues to be an ongoing debate. Identifying successes and small victories, which utilize economic instruments, can strengthen their case for wider acceptance. It further allows learning across a wide spectrum of methods and approaches to encourage cross-pollination of feasible ideas. In spite of contextual, cultural, legal and economic processes, which vastly differ at the inter-state or inter-city level, the availability of a dynamic financial toolkit provides an array of options to stakeholders to customize and adapt to specific local contexts. A complete rejection or doubtful acceptance only debilitates the conservation movement while historic neighborhoods and urban precincts continue to languish and decay.

The thesis acknowledges that a range of social, political, bureaucratic and economic factors do routinely and unduly delay or defer even the most well-framed and good-intentioned efforts. This sometimes renders ineffective the entire attempt or alters the project and people dynamics irreversibly. Yet this work adheres to a more optimistic path seeking operative and productive pathways for urban conservation. In an attempt to grasp and expound the impact of the diverse range of economic incentives discussed above, the thesis affords priority to three aspects: (a) guiding factors behind such facilitation, (b) effect of a specific financial tool on a project's implementation and, (c) ensuing benefits to the immediate local community.

For Mumbai, an active and engaged civil society has clearly bolstered the conservation movement in the city. Guided by progressive professionals and a visionary Parsi community,²³¹ known for its philanthropic support, public support has spread for heritage issues. Compelling and well-researched proposals, along with public and media campaigns, mounted pressure on the city government to take action. Enacting the regulations in 1995 provided traction to implement the Fort precinct initiatives in phased manner. Involving corporations, small businesses and local traders to participate and finance preservation activity in each of the designated precincts empowered the key stakeholders. The creation of welfare associations and citizen groups within the precinct gave voice and visibility to their causes along with a platform for implementation. Armed with a knowledge of the regulations and the finances, the advocates have lessened the immediate role and dependence on the state government and Municipal Corporation. By introducing successful Western models such as fundraising through neighborhood organizations and the private sector, implementing a BID and TDR allowed the Fort Precinct to become an Indian urban laboratory.

²³¹ The Urban Design Research Institute (UDRI), constituted in 1984, played a key role in advocating for urban conservation among multiple stakeholders citizens, researchers, the media, policy makers and implementation agencies. It converged a multidisciplinary team of citizen activists: Rahul Mehrotra (architect and urban designer), Shireen Bharucha (lawyer and activist), Jamsheed Kanga (IAS officer), Cyrus Gazder (industrialist and activist), among others. Similarly the Bombay Environmental Action Group (BEAG) founded by environmental activist Shyam Chainani in the 1970s championed the cause for heritage legislation. Others citizen-led non-profits such as Bombay First, Bombay Civic Trust, and the neighborhood welfare associations were the steering force behind stewardship of Mumbai's built heritage.

For Ahmedabad, the unwavering entrepreneurial spirit of the city leaders and residents has historically acquired it the title of ‘Manchester of the East.’²³² It is perhaps this quality that also underpins the stewardship of architectural heritage in the 600-year-old Walled City. A corporate-like makeover within the administrative structure of the municipal corporation in the mid 1990s led to a progressive and citizen-friendly governance model (discussed in Chapter 2). Possibly the earliest municipal body with a strongly etched preservation road map, the use of viable economic tools has always been the backbone of its strategies. Achieving inner city revitalization through robust financial frameworks first led to periodic partnerships at multiple levels, the local (CRUTA Foundation), national (through HUDCO) and international (MoU with Government of France). In its present stage, local financing through real estate-friendly solutions that are income generating for property owners and Walled City residents has been deemed a long term and sustainable path. Low and middle-income multi-family households and businesses form the predominant demographic of the area. This has made it imperative for conservation to economically empower the communities over merely restoring architectural integrity of the *pols*. Current initiatives by the City Heritage Center and incentives by the AMC address these issues and have reaffirmed the city’s commitment to sustainable inner city development through heritage conservation. Distinct from the Mumbai example, Ahmedabad

²³² Further readings on Ahmedabad’s prolific position as a thriving commercial center in the medieval and colonial times – for cotton and textile trade – that triggered major urban growth can be sourced from *Ahmedabad: A Study in Indian Urban History* by Kenneth L. Gillion, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1968. Also Makrand Mehta’s *The Ahmedabad Cotton Textile Industry: Genesis and Growth*, Ahmedabad: New Order Book Co., 1982. and *Indian Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Historical Perspective*, New Delhi: Academic Foundation, 1991, highlights the business prowess of the city leaders and merchant community operating in the Walled City. More recently the city has been flourishing in the pharmaceuticals and petrochemicals industry.

establishes a paradigm shift in municipally led revitalization and embeds critical lessons for other local bodies to learn from and adapt to their context.

Once popularized as the ‘La Côte d'Azur de l'Est’ or ‘The French Riviera of the East,’²³³

Pondicherry’s historic architecture and urban form has largely kept extant its original planning ideas. It is possibly the only French colony in the country to do so today. Late accession into the Indian state and Union Territory status has aided this process and in spite of demolition and developmental threats, the city does demonstrate a stronger commitment to preservation. The spotlight of national and international French cultural organizations provides muscle to the heritage movement, often lending monetary support as well. This has, in turn, galvanized community and state level efforts, where decision-makers have recognized the potential of Pondicherry’s history and resources. The tenacious efforts of the local INTACH chapter have bridged the gap between isolated rehabilitation efforts and holistic community participation and acceptance. This chapter of the national level non-profit is arguably the most effective and successful in inducing social and economic change through preservation. Funding generated through international agencies and private developers is channelized for broad social, cultural and recreational agendas through historic rehabilitation. This balances culture and commerce – where economic growth for French and Tamil town residents, through heritage tourism flourished simultaneously with local needs of education, cultural activity and enhanced quality of life. By prioritizing and planning for preservation, through broad-based funding mechanisms, Pondicherry is an excellent example of creatively harnessing one’s conservation potential.

²³³ Jones, Mark. “Pondicherry: A Corner of India that is Forever France,” Independent, 13 January 2013

CHAPTER 4:
CUSTOMIZING FOR KOLKATA:
ENVISIONING A FUTURE FOR THE ‘PARAS’ OF THE NORTH

Summary: Kolkata serves as a representative example of a city that has been slow and misguided in addressing its urgent conservation issues. This chapter examines the existing policies, economic incentives and heritage regulations in Kolkata that promote or facilitate conservation and adaptive use, focusing specifically on ‘*paras*’ of north Kolkata, along the Chitpur Road corridor. It analyzes factors that have contributed to this inertia and inaction by elaborating on a few selected examples that have met with varied degrees of success, failure or stagnation. The chapter gauges the direction in which conservation in the city is headed. Finally an assessment will be made of whether the models utilized in other cities could be relevant for Kolkata’s historic neighborhoods, as well as how economic incentives can be a key engine to drive the city’s conservation goals.

4.1 Introduction to the City and its Northern Neighborhoods

Kolkata (formerly known as Calcutta), located in eastern India, was founded in 1690 as a port city and British trading post. It was primarily a conglomeration of three individual villages - Gobindapur, Sutanuti and Kalikata - forming a part of the rural landscape of Bengal. It subsequently emerged as the capital of the British Empire in India - its administrative and economic center - from 1757 to 1911, after which the center was relocated to New Delhi. The city’s geography, along the banks of the River Hooghly (a tributary of the holy Ganges), has been critical to its development as a flourishing colonial city (Figure 49). With the construction

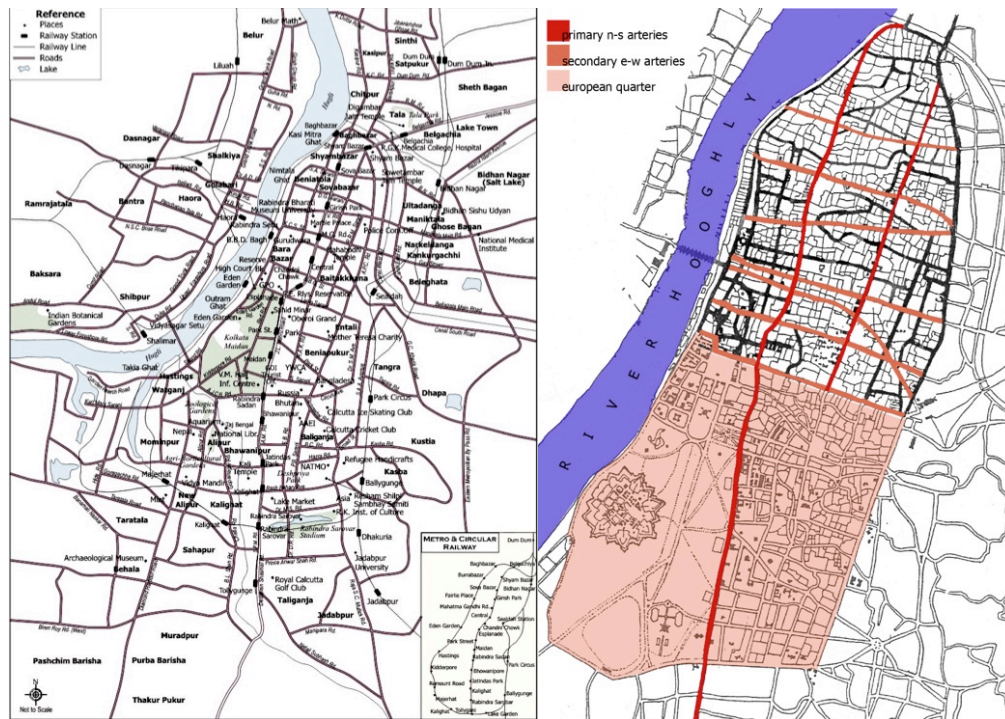


Figure 49: (Left) Present geographical limits of the Kolkata Metropolitan Area. (Right) Map of 19th century colonial Kolkata. The shaded area was the European quarter and to its north was the native quarter. The continuous north-south artery is Chitpur Road (highlighted in red). Source: Seeking the Lost Layers, Pg. 10.

of Fort William and the Maidan (as an Esplanade), Kalikata became the new focus of the British residents, and the seat of colonial administration and commercial ventures (Figure 50). Envisioned as the city of palaces²³⁴ in the late 18th century, the native quarter, which lay north of

²³⁴ This vision was shaped by Governor General Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) with his prescriptive 'Minute on Calcutta' in 1803, which led to the setting up of the Lottery Committee in 1817 — where funds for city development were raised through public lotteries. The task of the Lottery Committee was to make Calcutta the Indian outpost for commerce and administration, suitable for a long stay of Englishmen. The construction of two major north-south arterial roads (the Strand Road along the river bank and the Wellesley Street-College Street-Cornwallis Street) and a number of roads diagonally cutting across these arterial highways from east to west was undertaken'. The English residents of the city were averse to plan for Calcutta on a long-term basis, and were openly hostile to any proposal for enhanced taxes to finance its civic development. The Lottery Committee had not assured the development of the Indian parts of the city (namely the north Kolkata neighborhoods). Based on '*Planning The City — Urbanization and Reform in Calcutta c.1800-c.1940*' by Partho Datta (2012) and

the European nerve center, developed around Sutanuti. Having a river valley location, the growth of this quarter was restricted between the river Hooghly and the eastern marshlands, which acted as a city limit.



Figure 50: An 1865 archival image of the European quarter as seen from the Esplanade. Prominent public buildings fronted the main thoroughfare with colonial bungalows behind.
Source: Cornell University Digital Image Collections



Figure 51: 19th century view of Chitpur Road depicting its bazaar based economy along the mansions and townhouses that flanked the thoroughfare.
Source: Jeremiah P. Losty. "Calcutta: City of Palaces," London: British Library, 1990

'Nobody's city to everybody's Calcutta,' by Partha Ranjan Das in The Telegraph, Kolkata, 13 January 2006.

The native town was developed entirely by the Bengali merchant and trader class who then invested in land, set up *bazaars*, brought in artisan communities and built opulent residences.²³⁵ Rapidly capitalizing on available expertise they transformed ‘contemptuous neighborhoods’ in the north, into their own stronghold, claiming an alternate, distinct voice in the city’s urban and architectural history. Often considered as the first Asian social group of any size whose mental world was transformed by its interactions with the West,²³⁶ comprador-ship to the British East India Company resulted in high fortunes for Bengali traders turned *zamindars* (landlords). North Kolkata’s architecture was patronized to compete with public buildings of the European town, in scale and design language, choosing to disregard any idea of subservience to the ruling authority. Herein lies perhaps their biggest paradox, of having being born out of wealth generated through subservience to the same powers.²³⁷

Chitpur Road (now known as Rabindra Sarani) marked the foremost transportation corridor connecting the city’s north to the south. It was the original seat of the *babu*-culture that gripped the city’s elite in the 19th century (Figure 51). The later introduction of other north-south arteries such as Strand Road, College Street and Central Avenue, gave this quarter a defined and strong north-south linkage. Surrounded by a bazaar economy, residential neighborhoods or ‘*para*’ formation was largely determined by caste or professional hierarchies.²³⁸ Typical *paras* constituted of the mansions of the landlord, the bazaars he owned,

²³⁵ Bose, Kamalika. “Something Old, Something New: Amalgamations of the Vernacular in the Contemporary - A Historical Perspective in the case of Mansions in North Calcutta,” ISVS 4 Conference, Ahmedabad 2007.

²³⁶ RayChaudhuri, Tapan. *Perceptions of the West: Europe reconsidered in 19th century Bengal*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pg. 9.

²³⁷ Bose, Kamalika. “Of Echoes and Silent Raptures: Exploring North Calcutta through the Paradigm of the Zamindari Mansions,” Marg Publications, Vol. 61, No. 2, Dec 2009.

²³⁸ Today’s street names still recall the *paras* of particular castes (Bamun/Brahmin), families (Gangulipara, Naskarpara etc), professions (dorjis or tailors, syakras or goldsmiths etc)

the temple he patronized, *kothabaris* (town houses) of middle class professionals and white-collared workers constructed on his rented land, along with slum settlements of artisans and laborers – forming a heterogeneous community.²³⁹ Having developed without the imposition of colonial planning principles, north Calcutta was allowed to follow an organic process of development, accretive in nature and adaptive to circumstantial factors.



Figure 52: The Tagore Palace in Pathuriaghata, representative of a typical zamindar's mansion with an imposing neoclassical façade located within the narrow lanes of the 'para'
Source: Marc De Tollenaere.

and migrants from other provinces. Smaller than the paras were the tolas of professional groups like the ahirs (cowherds or milkmen), byaparis (merchants), kalus (oilpressers) etc. Tuli, the diminutive of tola, marked a still smaller quarter like Kumartuli. Trade and commerce created markets, which in turn lent their names to localities. Haats, ganjs and bazaars could be named after products sold there, eg- Murgihata, Baliganj etc, or could be named after its founder or owner, such as Chatubabu's bazaar, Jadubabu's bazaar, Shobhabazar, etc.

²³⁹ Bose, Kamalika. *Seeking the Lost Layers: An Inquiry into the Traditional Dwellings of the Urban Elite in North Calcutta*, Ahmedabad: SID Research Cell, 2008. Chapter 1. A major reason for this was also the Permanent Settlement Act, where the local compradors or traders invested in property and large tracts of land (both urban and rural) and were allowed to collect rent for it. This new status of the 'nouveaux riche' transformed them from mere compradors to rentiers or 'rajas'.

A characteristic *zamindari* mansion was a sprawling twin-courtyard structure with an imposing neo-classical façade overlooking the front street. With a footprint of approximately 3000 sq. m on each floor, they stood in elegant isolation from the tightly packed surrounding neighborhood with its dense building activity, mixed vehicular and pedestrian movement (Figure 52).

The spaces of the mansions were organized into rooms set around one or more courtyards, inter-connected by deep verandahs, for movement and protection from the hot, humid climate. There was usually one public courtyard (*bairmahal*), and several smaller inner courtyards (*andarmahal*), depending on family size and affluence.²⁴⁰



Figure 53: Reception Room of the Ghosh mansion in Pathuriaghata Street illustrating the period furniture and colonial style decorations. Source: the Author.

To take a typical example of a mansion,

One entered into a marble hall after passing a long driveway. To the right of this was a staircase with statues of Cornelia and the Gracchi, Venus and Psyche. The

²⁴⁰ Op. Cit. Bose. Marg Publications, Vol. 61, No. 2, Dec 2009.

stairs led to a central hall, dedicated to the muse of dance, Terpsichore, whose walls were hung with paintings and whose floor was adorned with statues of a reading Nymph and a recumbent Venus embowered in roses. To the left of the hall was a spacious verandah decorated to resemble a Mongol tent with leafy walls and garlands of flowers, in the center of which was a throne of crimson velvet and gold embroidery, with pillars of solid silver, chased and inlaid with gold. On the right was the music room with oil paintings, marble furniture, orange damask curtains, porcelain vases and alabaster clocks. The subjects of the paintings included Venus and Mars and scenes from a nautch.²⁴¹ (Figure 53).

By 1870 large plots of land in the ‘paras,’ owned by the *zamindar*, were sold or rented. The area became predominantly middle class, consisting of densely built smaller townhouses on narrow plots (Figure 54 and 55). The size of the courtyards was diminished to 12 by 20 feet or variations thereof to fit 10-12 foot room modules, and the second court was eliminated.²⁴² Today such properties form a mix of residential and commercial uses. From multi-family occupancy, to small tenanted businesses, in various states of disrepair, they are often entrenched in litigation and ownership disputes and are key victims of the Rent Control Act.

Declining Fortunes of North Kolkata’s Architectural Heritage

The resentment that followed the transfer of the colonial capital from Kolkata to New Delhi in 1911 was addressed by large-scale urban development measures.

²⁴¹ Mukherjee, Rudrangshu. “Zamindars: of Landlords and Decaying Gentility,” *Taj Magazine* 1990, Pg. 49.

²⁴² Chattopadhyay, Swati. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism & The Colonial Uncanny*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2005. Pg. 203-204.



Figure 54: (Left) Map of Upper Chitpur Road showing the dense urban fabric and location of prominent mansions and bazaars fronting the street. (Right) Massing of smaller townhouses, with single courtyards, that lined the inner streets of the neighborhood.

Source: Amitabha Choudhury. "City within the City: Distinctions of urban form in the Colonial City of Calcutta," Ahmedabad: School of Architecture, 1996.



Figure 55: Typical street character of the inner lanes of north Kolkata, branching off Chitpur Road. Detached two or three-storied townhouses are defined by cast-iron balconies, louvered wood windows and wide entrance plinths as communal spaces. Source: the Author.

The Calcutta Improvement Act, passed in the same year, formed the Calcutta Improvement Trust (CIT) that steered infrastructure, open space and new area development. Road widening schemes and slum clearance led to the loss of several historic quarters in central and north Kolkata. Yet other political and economic factors put architectural and cultural heritage at risk. Among these was the economic recession in the 1930s, World War II (when the city was the headquarters for the Allied Forces), the great Bengal Famine of 1943, destruction and damage that followed the Quit India freedom movement, and finally heavy rioting and inflow of refugees from Bangladesh (former East Pakistan) following the Partition of Bengal in 1947.²⁴³

Changes ushered in a more democratic and enlightened post-independent era also saw the downfall of the *zamindari* era. This turn of events drastically affected the fortune of palatial residences that presided over neighborhoods and streetscapes of north Kolkata, bringing with it uncertainty, decay, abandonment and even demolition. Seen as sprawling remnants of a bygone era, a burden from the colonial past that has little relevance or use today, the post colonial city has been most unkind to this historic building stock and surrounding urban landscape. Apathy towards the colonial legacy combined with lack of financial resources has severely depleted these quarters. Coupled with a prejudiced perception of being an unfashionable part of town, owing to congestion and failing infrastructure, resurrecting the north Kolkata neighborhoods is perhaps the most critical conservation challenge facing the city.

The historic architecture is believed to have further suffered owing to political ideologies of the long serving communist Government of the city from 1977 to 2011, that initially rejected

²⁴³ Ghosh, Santosh. "Calcutta, India: Heritage and Government Policies," in *The Disappearing Asian City* by William S. Logan (ed). Pg. 119.

the concept of conservation.²⁴⁴ The political landscape of West Bengal has also negatively impacted the city's economic fortune. It "has suffered de-industrialization on a par with the likes of Detroit. According to the central bank, the state accounted for a quarter of India's industrial capital stock in 1950. By 1960 it contributed 13% of manufacturing output and by 2000 just 7%."²⁴⁵ The Bengali majority, known to be working class professionals, was greatly setback by lack of employment opportunities and forced to move out, for better higher education, work and quality of life, resulting in a permanent brain drain. The fear now is that "Kolkata is becoming a vast old-age home for middle-class Bengalis. For the last 40 years, Kolkata has had very little space for young, educated, ambitious Kolkatans."²⁴⁶



Figure 56: Demolition of a mansion in progress, a common phenomenon today, only to be replaced by high-rise apartments; the announcement for which is painted on the compound wall below. Source: the Author.

²⁴⁴ "Conservation and the Role of the Government" in Session 2, Panel Discussion, *Conservation After Legislation*, Pg. 90.

²⁴⁵ The prime culprits for industrial decline are the politicisation of land tenure, which makes it hard for firms to get space, and dreadful industrial relations. West Bengal has a lexicon of strife, with goons who flex political muscles on the streets and widespread gheraos (taking bosses hostage) and bandhs (general strikes). From Chaudhuri, Amit. 'Reviving Kolkata: The City That Got Left Behind,' *The Economist*, Kolkata, 7 January 2012.

²⁴⁶ Deb, Sandipan, "Growing Old in Kolkata," *Livemint Online Edition*, 15 April 2013.

North Kolkata's urban fabric has greatly been impacted by these factors affecting all spheres of its social, economic and cultural health. The social welfare is seeing the breakdown of the joint family system, the drying up of family wealth, and migration. With younger generations moving out, the sprawling mansions and large townhouses are being left in the physical custody of a few elderly family members. Any ensuing inheritance disputes was seen as undesirable and selling the property to a local developer in lieu of individual apartments for all family factions has become a preferred option (Figure 56). This has resulted in large-scale destruction of stately homes and irreversible change within traditional *paras*, now chequered with incongruous infill development in the form of high-rise buildings and commercial complexes. Functional obsolescence is a major issue for the over 350 mansions that still stand in the area, owing to changing lifestyles. Finding new uses that are compatible with today's needs, lifestyles and times is imperative for their survival.

Today north Kolkata remains beautiful but shabby, the last city to remain largely untouched by India's 20-year boom²⁴⁷ in the post-liberalized era. The neighborhood demographics and building stock largely comprises of three groups of people.

1. The aristocratic gentry that still has large land holdings across the city. Their income is largely derived from the rents obtained from their properties, but due to the clauses of the Rent Control Act, they collect less than what they might. They continue to occupy a comparatively small number of the sprawling mansions, the rest of which are vacant, accelerating the pace of deterioration. Many mansions have been sold to local real estate firms, to be demolished and redeveloped as modern apartment buildings.

²⁴⁷ Chaudhuri, Amit. 'Reviving Kolkata: The City That Got Left Behind,' The Economist, Kolkata, 7 January 2012.

2. The middle-income professional class holds white-collar jobs in various organizations and corporations or function independently. Many work as lawyers, doctors and managers. In the absence of ancestral property in this area, this segment occupies rented quarters owned by Bengali or Marwari landlords.
3. The laborers, unskilled workers and artisans include the migrant population from neighboring states and may or may not be with families. They are a low-income group working on a daily-wage or a contractual basis. Their housing includes rooms in abandoned mansions, and squatter settlements in the 'para.'

4.2 The Existing Conservation DNA: Laws, Regulations, and Incentives

For a historic and architecturally rich city like Kolkata, the idea of heritage conservation arrived rather recently, less than two decades ago. The earliest recent attempt occurred in 1989 when the local non-profit, the Foundation for Conservation and Research of Urban Traditional Architecture (CRUTA), began to organize heritage walks, tours and slide shows in North Kolkata,²⁴⁸ attempting to sensitize citizens and revive the *para* culture. The policy frameworks and municipal support, including the requisite capital investment, were however not introduced in this context. Long-term success proved to be elusive in the absence of institutional and financial sustenance and the organization moved on, accepting the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation's offer to initiate a Heritage Cell in 1997 (discussed in Chapter 2 and 3). Later initiatives were led by INTACH, Action Research in the Conservation of Heritage (ARCH) and other non-profits as a mode of advocacy, public awareness and activism, through more heritage walks, seminars, workshops, and media campaigns. The role of city authorities in formulating a

²⁴⁸ Nayak, Debashish, 'Revitalising Our Walled Cities,' *Seminar Journal*, <http://www.india-seminar.com/2003/530/530%20debashish%20nayak.htm>

path for protecting and revitalizing Kolkata's historic resources was extremely limited.

4.2.1. Legislation and Regulations for Kolkata

Early provisions for conservation in the West Bengal Town and Country (Planning & Development) Act, 1979²⁴⁹ were known but was not helpful. Additional heritage legislation was not formalized until the passing of the West Bengal Heritage Commission Act of 2001.²⁵⁰ One can furthermore be critical of this inertia by the state government considering the precedent set by Mumbai in 1995. And yet, it was not before 2007 that the Department of Municipal Affairs, Government of West Bengal, acted on the new heritage law. Similar to the Mumbai model, the Act set up the West Bengal Heritage Commission, to supervise the modification, enlistment and maintenance of all Heritage Buildings, Monuments, Precincts and Sites within the purview of entire State of West Bengal.²⁵¹ This was an ambitious move whereby the government brought into focus a diverse category of historic resources in geographically distinct districts of the state under the ambit of this new decision-making body. Interestingly the Act empowers the Commission to identify that heritage which is “necessary to protect against destruction, injury, alteration, mutilation, defacement, removal, dispersion or falling into decay.”²⁵² This view excludes clauses regarding reuse or repurposing of heritage buildings and the Act itself did not go beyond setting up and defining powers and roles for the Commission.

For Kolkata, the West Bengal Heritage Commission Act of 2001 and Section 2 (42A) of

²⁴⁹ West Bengal Dept. of Municipal Affairs,
http://www.wbdma.gov.in/HTM/MUNI_HeritageConservation.htm, (accessed 23 February, 2013).

²⁵⁰ Department of Municipal Affairs, Government of West Bengal,
http://www.wbdma.gov.in/HTM/MUNI_HeritageConservation.htm, (accessed 23 February, 2013).

²⁵¹ Op Cit, West Bengal Dept. of Municipal Affairs

²⁵² West Bengal Heritage Commission Act of 2001

the Kolkata Municipal Corporation Act 1980 are two key pieces of legislation pertaining to the city's built heritage. Provisions under the act are carried out, in varying capacities and role-plays by three administrative bodies: the Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC), the Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA) and the Department of Municipal Affairs of the Government of West Bengal (DMA). Of these:

1. The KMC follows the provisions of Section 2 (42A) of the K.M.C. Act 1980, which outlines guidelines for the city of Kolkata and has appointed its own Heritage Conservation Committee (possibly in the same ranks as the Landmarks Preservation Commission in the US). This committee appointed by the mayor, "shall have the power to function independent of the Municipal Building Committee for purpose of preservation, conservation and maintenance of heritage buildings."²⁵³ The HCC grades and lists heritage buildings, recommends their conservation to the WB Heritage Commission, and has a separate fund to ensure maintenance of Grade I heritage buildings.
2. The KMDA, being the main statutory planning body for the city, has constituted a Heritage Cell within its administrative structure that identifies heritage buildings within the Urban Local Bodies in Kolkata Metropolitan Area only.²⁵⁴ This Cell is directly under the State level WBHC and is delinked from the Municipal workings of KMC's Heritage Committee.
3. The WBHC is then an arm of the Department of Municipal Affairs of the Government of West Bengal (DMA) becoming the State level functionary that the KMC and KMDA need to report to and consult for initiating restoration efforts and related approvals. Constituted within KMC's town planning and urban development agencies, heritage

conservation procedures have to navigate through the "hierarchical structure of the state

²⁵³ KMC website: Heritage buildings of Kolkata
<http://www.kmcgov.in/KMCPortal/jsp/HeritageBuildingHome3.jsp>, (accessed 23 February, 2013).

²⁵⁴ Op cit, Department of Municipal Affairs website,
http://www.wbdma.gov.in/HTM/MUNI_HeritageConservation.htm, (accessed 23 February, 2013).

government suggesting that metropolitan planning has to focus on the design of institutional mechanisms through which to address common problems and determine shared values and objectives.”²⁵⁵ Most municipal efforts in the past decade have focused on restoration, and not necessarily reuse, of colonial era institutional buildings around the Central Business District or those belonging to prominent persons. Examples such as the “Town Hall, Prinsep Ghat, Metropolitan Building, Metcalfe Hall, Star Theatre, Vidyasagar House, Queens Mansion, Vivekananda House, Minerva Theatre... have been initiated by the Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA).”²⁵⁶

Apart from individual grading of heritage buildings, there are no existing systems that allow designation of historic or conservation districts for Kolkata’s traditional neighborhoods. Merely grading singular landmarks does not ensure sufficient protection and threatens the integrity of Grade II and III structures, which are contributing resources to the neighborhood. These two categories face greater injustice, as they allow internal and external modifications along with a change in use. This automatically raises new questions about financing the rehabilitation of listed or even unlisted historic properties, especially since the government only funds Grade I restorations or where it is a direct stakeholder through ownership or acquisition.

4.2.2. Economic Incentives And Provisions Therein:

“Bikash Ranjan Bhattacharyya, former city Mayor was of the opinion that, across the world, using heritage structures for commercial purposes is a norm. We were late to cash in on

²⁵⁵ Anirban Pal, “Scope for Bottom-up Planning in Kolkata: Rhetoric vs Reality,” *Environment and Urbanization*, October 2006, Vol. 18 no. 2, Pg. 501.

²⁵⁶ Op cit, Department of Municipal Affairs website.
http://www.wbdma.gov.in/HTM/MUNI_HeritageConservation.htm, (accessed 23 February, 2013).

the trend, but we do have effective laws to ensure that the city's heritage's is kept intact.”²⁵⁷ The KMC and KMDA have their own corpus fund for repair and maintenance of listed Grade I buildings, they have yet to formulate detailed policies regarding the change of use and through it attract private investment into this sector. At present the status for providing incentives to maintain heritage buildings are.²⁵⁸

A. Exemption from property tax: Under the Exemption of Property Tax u/s 425K of KMC Act 1980²⁵⁹, Grade I listed heritage buildings can avail of an exemption when no change to the external facade is permissible. Its new use should also be compatible with the category of the heritage building. In spite of maintaining Grade I status, its tax exemption status may be in jeopardy if the rehabilitation with a viable new use incorporates a revenue generation model. A clause in the Act states: “The building should be either institutional building or residential building without having any commercial activity. In future the premise would not be let out for any commercial purpose. Details of earning as well as the expenditure for maintenance of the building from the heritage property have to be furnished along with the application.”²⁶⁰ Such policy-making has often proven detrimental to the redevelopment of heritage properties in north Kolkata neighborhoods. Developers find the lack of incentives to be unattractive for investment while homeowners refrain from any risk-taking without guaranteed economic returns. State

²⁵⁷ Kolkata Heritage Buildings To be used Commercially,
<http://kolkatainformation.org/2011/01/17/kolkata-heritage-buildings-to-be-used-commercially/>

²⁵⁸ Building Restoration – Heritage Structures, National Level and State Level (West Bengal),
<http://www.venetopromozione.it/media/39719/building%20restoration%20-%20detailed%20analysis.pdf>

²⁵⁹ Tax Exemption Forms: Kolkata Municipal Corporation.
<https://www.kmcgov.in/KMCPortal/jsp/ExemptionTax.jsp>; (accessed 23 February, 2013).

²⁶⁰ General Conditions for Exemption of Property Tax u/s 425K of KMC Act 1980, KMC website, <https://www.kmcgov.in/KMCPortal/jsp/ExemptionTax.jsp>, (accessed 23 February, 2013).

agencies have driven only those campaigns with institutional programs – museums, town halls, theaters, visitor centers – where either no change of use has occurred or the revenue generation component was minimal.

B. Allowing transferable development rights (TDR): The KMC has collaborated with city-based conservation architects, in the last two years, been studying various models of the TDR system extant in India. The Mumbai regulations in 1995 had incorporated the TDR with provisions for compensating heritage-building owners who could not develop their lands. This was to act as a deterrent against demolition or unauthorized change in land use and be an incentive for owners to protect or reuse their buildings.²⁶¹ Mumbai's Heritage TDR program, though unsuccessful then (as discussed in Chapter 2), today works on the premise that "the floor area that can be transferred from a historic site is the maximum floor area allowed under the plot ratio minus the actual size of the landmark structure."²⁶² The Mumbai Heritage Conservation Committee (MHCC) has been considering whether these incentives can be extended to private owners.²⁶³ Ahmedabad adopted a TDR model in 2012 for the Walled City (discussed in Chapter 3). Bangalore adopted the TDR system through a legislative amendment in 2005 but has not yet implemented it. It plans to use the TDR for land acquisitions, infrastructure development, urban renewal, and large-scale retail development.²⁶⁴

Current studies for introducing TDR in Kolkata have recommended that the KMC "identify Sending Zones, which would require the authorities to demarcate areas that are in need

²⁶¹ Transferable Development Rights, Mumbai example, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/54721793/TDR>

²⁶² TDR Program Profiles: Mumbai, <http://www.beyondtakingsandgivings.com/mumbai.htm>

²⁶³ 'Heritage panel mulls TDR incentives to private owners,' *Indian Express*, 22 Sept 2012

²⁶⁴ TDR and Bangalore Metro, <http://casumm.files.wordpress.com/2008/02/transfer-of-development-rights.pdf>

of protection, such as heritage sites or environmentally sensitive areas.”²⁶⁵ As is evident by this nascent stage, it will take a considerable period of time before TDR can be used as an effective tool for planning and conservation in Kolkata. KMC officials do acknowledge the drastic changes in building and land laws that will accompany the introduction of the TDR but hope that it will be enacted.

C. Heritage building owners are occasionally allowed to change the use from residential to more profitable uses like commercial hotels, etc.: In the wake of marketing Kolkata and West Bengal as attractive tourism destinations, the state government attempted to constitute an incentive package that brought private investment into the tourism and hospitality sector. With Tourism being viewed as ‘industry,’ its clauses have been listed under the Heritage Tourism section of West Bengal Heritage Policy of 2008. Clause 12.3 of Tourism Infrastructure/Facilities states “heritage hotels add variety to the accommodation available to tourists. Kolkata and other historical locations in the State have buildings, which are old (built prior to 1950) and have architectural excellence, which could be converted, into heritage hotels. Proposals from private investors for setting up such hotel projects would be welcomed.”²⁶⁶ These policies are accompanied by financial incentives as part of the West Bengal Tourism Incentive Scheme 2008.

The Scheme outlines that “a heritage hotel project shall be located in a palace/castle/fort/building of architectural excellence which was built prior to 1950 and which is

²⁶⁵ Pingal Khan, “A Case for the Introduction of Transferable Development Rights in West Bengal.” *PXV Bangalore*, June 2011.

²⁶⁶ West Bengal Tourism Policy 2008, <http://www.westbengaltourism.gov.in/web/guest/documents>, (accessed 23 February, 2013)/

being converted into a hotel with a minimum of 10 lettable rooms.”²⁶⁷ To such projects, those that meet eligibility requirement, the following incentives are available:

1. State Capital Investment subsidy: In Kolkata, such a project can be entitled to a State Capital Investment Subsidy @ 7.5% of the fixed capital investment subject to a limit of Rs.100 lakhs.
2. Interest subsidy: to the extent of 50% of the annual interest liability on the term loan borrowed from a commercial bank/financial institution for implementation of the project, subject to a limit of Rs.25 lakhs per year, for 5 years can be availed in Kolkata.
3. Two other schemes such as employment generation to the extent of 60% of the expenditure incurred by it for paying its contribution towards Employees State Insurance (ESI) and Employees Provident Fund (EPF) Scheme for a period of 5 years; and waiver of electricity duty for a period of 5 years from the date of commercial operation are included.

In spite of seemingly broad provisions these are yet to be implemented in real projects.

Low awareness about their procedural requirements and effectiveness has impeded utilization in restoration and reuse projects by homeowners and resident communities. Private developers have been wary to initiate heritage projects as KMC clearance is time intensive and ensuing legal complications are a deterrent including those of multiple ownerships or tenant-landlord issues.²⁶⁸ High investment hotel projects take between 8 – 10 years to break even in the complete absence of Return on Investment (ROI) guarantees on a short-term basis.²⁶⁹ This capital-intensive nature of hospitality projects has further deterred private developers on venture into uncharted territories through conservation in Kolkata, still considered a high-risk venture.

²⁶⁷ West Bengal Tourism Incentive Scheme 2008, <http://www.westbengaltourism.gov.in/web/guest/documents>, (accessed 23 February, 2013).

²⁶⁸ Op cit, Kolkata Heritage Buildings To be used Commercially, <http://kolkatainformation.org/2011/01/17/kolkata-heritage-buildings-to-be-used-commercially/>, (accessed 23 February, 2013).

²⁶⁹ Lohit Jagwani, “From Blue Print to the Blue Ribbon: Challenges of Project Development.” *Indian Hospitality Review*, 12 April 2012.

4.3 Hits and Misses: Attempts at Reuse and Rehabilitation

Incentives have triggered some degree of interest in historic rehabilitation post 2008, through conservation-oriented private investors or public-private partnerships. Proposals for high-profile restoration and reuse projects in the central Kolkata area have increased significantly. Locational advantage through close proximity to the Central Business District gives a business edge to the projects owing to higher land values and profit margins. Yet barring one, the rest have all inevitably run into roadblocks and are presently in a state of inaction.

4.3.1 Rehabilitation Initiatives underway in Central Kolkata:



Figure 57: Front façade of the Old Mint. Source: Revitalization of Old Mint House, Kolkata – Project Website; <http://kolkatamint.com/Services.html>; (accessed 10 May 2013)

1. *Reuse of the Old Silver Mint House.*²⁷⁰ In September 2008, a Rs. 200-crore restoration and reuse project was announced by the Central government, as a public-private joint venture under the aegis of the Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Services Limited (IL&FS).

²⁷⁰ Halted by flyover, Old Mint facelift project to be revived, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-04-04/kolkata/29380018_1_heritage-structure-kmda-flyover, (accessed 26 February, 2013).

This dilapidated structure, modeled on the Temple of Minerva in Athens had started operations in 1824 and continued till 1971 (Figure 57).

The proposed reuse was its conversion into a museum to house coins and seals from the Indus Valley Civilization to the British era. Two other ancillary structures on its grounds, the Mint Master's quarter and Old Copper House, were to be converted into a heritage hotel and a convention center respectively. The tender process selected a consortium of two real estate companies, US-based Real Estate Investment Trust (REIT) and the local Eden Group. In an uncoordinated move, the KMDA simultaneously planned a flyover from the Howrah Bridge to Vivekananda Road, passing in front of the heritage structure and also jutting at least eight meters into it. This has led to a project standstill. It remains in negotiation.

2. *Heritage hotel at mansion of Sir R. N. Mookherji.* Located on Harrington Street in Central Kolkata, this was the palatial family mansion of prominent industrialist, late Sir R.N. Mookerji. It had been purchased by local developer, Aditya Poddar in 2008, with rehabilitation plans of an old-style heritage hotel with a multi-storey modern annexe.²⁷¹ While trying to involve Singapore-based real estate company, Far East Organisation (FEO) to invest in the project, governmental sanctions and rising project costs have caused major delays and losses to the local developer. Moreover the new construction behind the mansion, on its grounds, to house a spa, swimming pool, banquet hall and three restaurants, has also become contentious with regards to heritage regulations and clearances.

3. *Heritage hotel on the Royal Calcutta Turf (RCTC) club campus.* This two-storied colonial structure also in central Kolkata functioned as the clubhouse for the horseracing

²⁷¹ "Heritage Highs,"

http://www.telegraphindia.com/1100227/jsp/personaltt/story_12152474.jsp, (accessed 24 February, 2013).

members of the RCTC since 1920. Now dilapidated, the roof is in a poor condition and the earlier ballrooms, bar and libraries are lost. This structure and the adjoining 3.5 acre land was leased by the local real estate group Emaar-MGF, in 2007 for Rs. 72 crore, through an agreement with RCTC to restore the heritage building and construct a new 19-storey, 300-room luxury hotel behind it under the Park Hyatt brand.²⁷² The project remains on hold until a lease renewal of the turf club racecourse land, which is owned by the Indian Army, comes through. Over the last two years Emaar-MGF is further looking to pare down its stake in the project and involve other buyers and investors but without much success.²⁷³



Figure 58: Rendering of the proposed new Great Eastern Hotel after rehabilitation. Only the front façade has been restored with a new structure build behind.

Source: The Lalit Great Eastern Kolkata, <http://www.thelalit.com/upcoming-hotels/the-lalit-great-eastern-kolkata/>; (accessed 10 May 2013).

4. *Reconstruction of the Great Eastern Hotel.* Located at the corner of the Governor's House (Raj Bhavan) in central Kolkata, the Great Eastern first opened in 1841 as Auckland Hotel. Said to be India's first luxury hotel and Asia's longest running, it was bought over by The Lalit Suri Hospitality Group, and has undergone seven years of restoration and rebuilding. The group acquired 90% stake from the West Bengal government for Rs 52 crore in 2005. Except for

²⁷² "Heritage hotel on Royal Calcutta Turf Club campus," <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Heritage-hotel-on-Royal-Calcutta-Turf-Club-campus/articleshow/17151865.cms?prtpage=1>, (accessed 24 February, 2013).

²⁷³ "RCTC Realty Deal With Real Estate Major Emaar MGF," <http://info.propertywala.com/real-estate-news/page/48/>, (accessed 20 June, 2013).

the façade, which was restored, the remaining portions have been completely rebuilt. The cost of rebuilding and restoration is estimated to be around Rs 260 crore.²⁷⁴ Spread across 2.3 acres, the hotel in its new avatar will offer 221 rooms, 21 deluxe suites, two presidential suites, and feature a ballroom, two specialty restaurants and a bakery. It is slated for a 2013 opening and is the only projected to have seen the light of the day in this area.

Under these circumstances, the only reuse projects that seemed feasible were those that involved significant demolition or new construction. The new construction allows the private developer to leverage greater returns from the investment while benefiting from a ‘heritage tag’ that add value to the marketing strategy. But the approach critically affects the integrity of the building with the new additions dominating the heritage character. These are little more than ‘facadism’ attempts (like the Great Eastern hotel project) where rehabilitation borders between demolition and building anew (Figure 58). They are also large-scale Grade I status ventures and the rehabilitation of smaller Grade II or III structures, such as bungalows, abandoned warehouses, dilapidated schools or business outfits are still a rarity.

Moreover historic residential neighborhoods of north Kolkata are yet to experience this level of investment in the heritage sector. The upscale neighborhoods of south Kolkata have attracted some interest in the form of boutique cafes, restaurants, retail outlets and homestays that are converting older properties for commercial use. But north Kolkata continues being marginalized owing to its location, aging infrastructure and being generally considered a relatively unfashionable part of town.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ “Great Eastern to Open in its New Avatar in Early 2013,” <http://www.expresshospitality.com/sections/market-section/742-great-eastern-to-open-in-its-new-avatar-in-early-2013>, (accessed 24 February, 2013).

²⁷⁵ “Heritage Highs,” (accessed 24 February, 2013). http://www.telegraphindia.com/1100227/jsp/personaltt/story_12152474.jsp

4.3.2 Rehabilitation Initiatives underway in North Kolkata

A KMC official opined that “heritage buildings across the city, especially those in north Kolkata, can be linked to the tourism network, and that innovative steps are being taken to rope in developers to restore.”²⁷⁶ Another galvanizing force has been the JnNURM scheme (discussed in Chapter 1), which prompts city governments to formulate projects for historic area renewal with heritage conservation objectives. The flaw in this approach is the lack of any funding for heritage projects.²⁷⁷ City authorities might propose renewal projects that are helpful to the inherent character and quality of the neighborhood. But there are a few revitalization projects, initiated by the state government and being planned for implementation by the KMC that could benefit the area’s architectural heritage, its living conditions and overall image. Three key projects are frozen at the moment:



Figure 59: Kumartuli, the potter’s neighborhood off Chitpur Road makes idols of deities for the various Bengali religious festivals. Source: the Author.

²⁷⁶ “History can Mean Big Business Too,” <http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-09-16/kolkata/3387996>, (accessed 24 February, 2013).

²⁷⁷ S P Shorey, ‘Legislation for Urban Heritage Conservation: West Bengal,’ *Context*, Special issue on JNNURM, Volume VII, Issue 2, Autumn/Winter 2010.

4A. *Kumartuli Urban Renewal Project.* Kumartuli (meaning potter's neighborhood) is a traditional community of artisans and crafts persons whose key livelihood is from creating religious idols - of gods and goddesses - for the multiple Indian festivals that occur year round (Figure 59). Most of the living quarters and the workshops are constructed of impermanent materials such as bamboo, clay and thatch with some interspersed more permanent construction of brick and concrete. The area is inadequately supplied with infrastructure and basic amenities. This project, under the JnNURM, aims to revitalize and redevelop the area.²⁷⁸ "35 percent of its cost is being borne by the central government, 15 percent by the state government, and the remaining 50 percent being arranged through loans to the state authorities."²⁷⁹



Figure 60: Public courtyard of the Bagbazaar Basubati. Source: the Author.

²⁷⁸ Land area - 3.22 acres; Project cost - Rs. 30.69 crore; Shop Establishment - 298 nos. Clay idol-makers and crafts-persons – 166 nos. ; Sponge-wood (shola) artists - 51 nos. Other shops (costumes for idols and miscellaneous) - 81 nos. Residential flats for idol-makers and artists - 524 nos.; Community & Tourist facilities: exhibition hall, community hall, health center, post office, banks, art gallery etc.

²⁷⁹ "Potters' town Kumartuli may Finally get Makeover," http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report_potters-town-kumartuli-may-finally-get-makeover_1127477, (accessed 24 February, 2013).

4B. *Rehabilitation of Bagbazaar Basubati as heritage hotel.* This is a 150 year old, two-storied, Grade I status mansion of a former *zamindar* in the Bagbazaar neighborhood, the northern tip of Chitpur Road (Figure 60). It was considered for restoration and repurposing as a luxury boutique hotel by the present members of the Basu family who continue to retain ownership. They had roped in prominent local developer Ambuja Realty in 2008²⁸⁰ but now, almost five years later the project is yet to take off. It is under multiple ownership where almost 50% of this 1.2 acre property had been willed to the Ministry of Education, Government of West Bengal to function as a public library by a previous family member. Litigation and bureaucracy issues need to be addressed in this case before any actual work can be planned.



Figure 61: Exterior wall of Sister Nivedita's house in Bagbazaar. Source: the Author.

²⁸⁰ "Heritage Highs,"

http://www.telegraphindia.com/1100227/jsp/personaltt/story_12152474.jsp, (accessed 24 February, 2013).

4C. Conversion of Sister Nivedita's house into a heritage center. The house of Sister Nivedita, an Irish disciple of Swami Vivekananda, also in Bagbazaar, is being bought by the KMC for repurposing as a heritage center.²⁸¹ Located in Bosepara Lane, it is within walking distance of the Basubati mansion (Figure 61). Born as Margaret Noble, she came to Kolkata in 1898 on a request from Swami Vivekananda to spread education among Indian women. She set up a school in 1899, which is now run by the nuns of the Ramakrishna-Sarada Mission and was a prominent social figure in the city's history. Although the details of the uses of this former residence have yet to be disclosed, it will be a public sector-project funded by the State government.

The three proposals outlined above do not comprise of even 5% of the total historic resources of north Kolkata, which is under threat of demolition or eventual collapse due to neglect. The viability of rehabilitation projects can set an excellent precedent for other mansion-owners, small home owners and investors in north Kolkata to see the value in such properties for a compatible change of use with innovative programming. This would not only be a critical tool in ushering in a new era of life for the edifices themselves, but also instill greater physical and economic value to a large area of Kolkata itself.

4.4 Customizing for the City's 'Paras': Looking outwards for Appropriate Models

Kolkata serves as a representative example of an Indian city that has been slow and misguided in addressing urgent conservation issues of its urban heritage and inner city neighborhoods. Not only are the existing incentives and proposed methodologies location

²⁸¹ "Sister Nivedita's House may be Acquired to Conserve it as Heritage Center," <http://www.thehindu.com/news/states/other-states/article2281257.ece?css=print>, (accessed 26 February, 2013).

exclusive, proving to be most beneficial for institution buildings in Central Kolkata, they are also seemingly function specific. When debating on change of use issues, only tourism seems to be on the minds of decision-makers. The onslaught of upscale hotels, restaurants, shopping destinations and other leisure-oriented outcomes can prove detrimental for the social and demographic composition of neighborhoods and local resident community. This myopic approach threatens to eventually trigger gentrification and displacement. In attempting to provide economic incentives for rehabilitation, it is equally important to improve and enhance the quality of life of existing residents and communities that traditionally live in these neighborhoods.

Incorporating and incentivizing social programming mechanisms in the change of use process might prove to be healthier in the longer run. There is a need for social infrastructure related to education, healthcare, business and community life, especially in low and middle-income communities. If through the rehabilitation of historic buildings some of these areas could also benefit, beyond tourism and entertainment, it would go a long way in creating a holistic sense of conservation, one where not only buildings but values and ways of life of a community and its people are also preserved.

There are several lessons embedded within case studies discussed in Chapter 3 from which Kolkata can seek direction in financing neighborhood conservation. The examples of Mumbai, Ahmedabad and Pondicherry only provide a window into the various financing possibilities, some of which can be adapted to the case of Kolkata. Some indicators that emerge are:

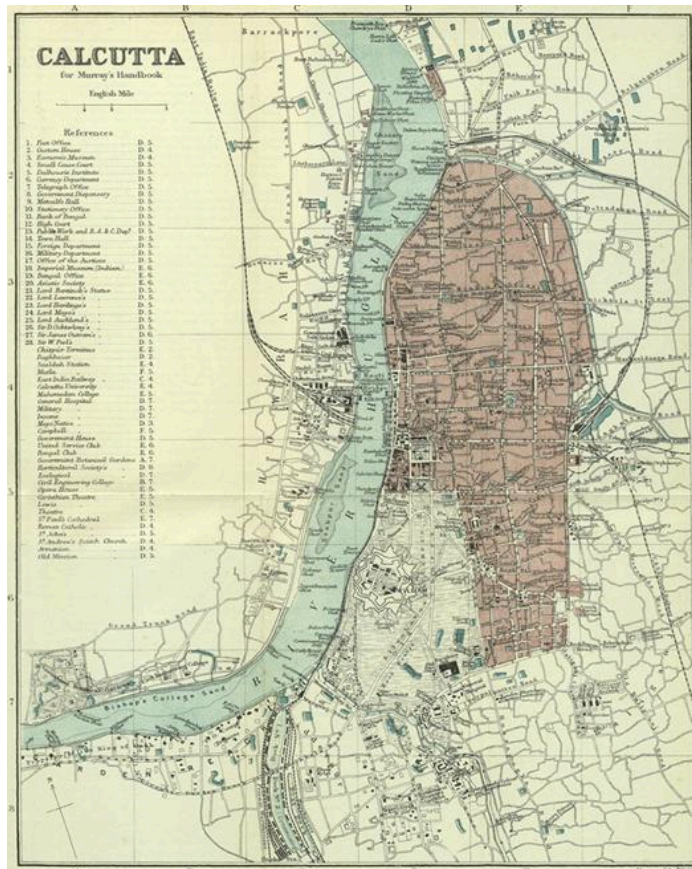


Figure 62: Map of Kolkata in 1909 with Fort William surrounded by the Esplanade and the European quarters to its right. The native town was further north and away from this cluster.
Source: Cornell University Digital Image Collections

1. Private sector sponsorship, adoption of heritage buildings and corporate social responsibility can stand to benefit the Central Business District (around Dalhousie Square and Chowringhee) in central Kolkata. As colonial cities developed under similar imperial ideas and timelines, Kolkata's urban heritage in this quarter (formerly the 'White town') echoes Mumbai's 'postcard city' phenomenon through its monumental mixed-use edifices (Figure 62). The paramount importance of defense in early English port cities suggested by the placement of the fortress at the water's edge and subsequent urban development on a lateral basis is evident in both Kolkata and Mumbai. Fort in Mumbai and the Fort William in Kolkata formed the nucleus of colonial settlement, centered amidst a vast esplanade that today are the cities' lungs. Mumbai's esplanade

is split into four individual *maidans* (recreational play grounds) today while Kolkata retains the original form almost entirely. Bordering the esplanade were the key colonial civic and institutional edifices along important transportation corridors. In Mumbai, the Gothic Revival buildings of the late 19th century (after fortifications were removed) were along Hornby Road, Mayo Road and Elphinstone Circle Road,²⁸² the prime arteries of this quarter. This area is now the heart of the Banking and Art District, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3. Kolkata followed a similar ordering where its monumental neoclassical buildings, which famously earned it the title of ‘City of Palaces’ fronted Chowringhee, Brabourne Road²⁸³ and Strand Road. The corporate district was placed away from the civic center and closer to the waterfront with access to the port. Mumbai’s Ballard Estate is then comparable to Kolkata’s Dalhousie Square, both dominated by headquarters of multinational corporations and business houses from the colonial period. J. N. Heredia Road in Mumbai and Netaji Subhas Road in Kolkata form the fulcrums of these corporate districts respectively, as drivers of early industrial capitalism in India.

In central Kolkata, heavy vehicular traffic along the north-south axis poses challenges to the walkability in the zone and offers pedestrianization opportunities. The lack of street furniture, sidewalk encroachment through hawking, vending and unauthorized squatting are the larger issues facing urban conservation. As Kolkata’s civic and commercial node, these heritage zones could possibly be enhanced through districting and fund-raising similar to the Fort precinct models. Tapping into the collective resources of corporate houses whose concentrated presence can help create BIDs in the area. And yet Kolkata’s fiscal health is vastly different from Mumbai and economic decline has compelled several corporate houses to relocate headquarters

²⁸² These are now named Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road, Bhaurao Patil Marg and Mahatma Gandhi Road respectively.

²⁸³ These streets in Kolkata have been renamed as Jawaharlal Nehru Road and Hemanta Basu Sarani.

to other Indian metro cities, including Mumbai. The existing companies either maintain a regional office with diminished staff capacities or have vacated their sprawling premises to avoid high rents and moved to a different part of Kolkata. Such factors may impinge on direct adoption of the Mumbai models of self-financing, corpus building and fundraising like in the Fort's banking and corporate district. The formation of proactive, conservation-oriented neighborhood associations comprising stakeholders in the areas can however be a vital step in similar stewardship.

2. The nature of problems plaguing north Kolkata neighborhoods, on the other hand, is symptomatic of inner city distress and decay. Its issues are similar to those faced in Mumbai's traditional neighborhoods such as Khotachiwadi, Bhuleshwar and Girgaum (emerging once again, out of the urban morphology of the 'native quarter' in a colonial city). In the absence of economic incentives, offered by the state government that makes rehabilitation attractive and self-sustaining, private initiative alone has and will continue to fail. It is here that Ahmedabad's model for Walled City revitalization through municipal action can prove effective (refer Chapter 3). Financing incentive led by city authorities and suitably supported by ancillary public-private partnerships, that economically strengthen local residents and businesses, needs to be the core conservation agenda. Mere architectural restoration of a few Grade I and II public and private buildings cannot achieve any long-term positive impact.

For north Kolkata, there are several local factors that may negatively impact implementation of the Ahmedabad model, even in parts. One is the outmoded physical infrastructure such as drainage, sewerage, road levels, fire safety and building codes. Installed and formulated in the colonial era, they have not been regularly upgraded to meet the new

population pressures and lifestyle needs. These systems continue to fail every season and damage the neighborhood fabric, through freak fires in bazaars and densely populated tenement housing, regular waterlogging and poor drainage, and building collapses when flouting safety codes. Such conditions have in turn lowered property values and diminished interest for any new investment in the area. The KMC's inability to reinforce aging infrastructure and enforce safety compliance is perhaps the first step to make such inner city areas ready for conservation initiatives.

Secondly the vast difference in attitudes to stewardship, enterprise and gumption, both of inner city residents and civic authorities in Kolkata and Ahmedabad is a critical point of contention. Business acumen, a high risk-taking ability coupled with pragmatism and a sense of belonging is deeply embedded within Ahmedabad's fairly traditional urban community. As discussed in Chapter 3, these qualities have underpinned the success of conservation programs in the Walled City where citizen support has matched municipal will. Conversely, Kolkata's hangover from the colonial era leading to a false sense of entitlement amongst the elite, a deeply parochial mindset of the erstwhile feudal landlords who continue to own the majority of private properties, and class disparity due to the influx of migrant labor, are fundamental impediments facing urban conservation in north Kolkata neighborhoods.

Inaction and apathy on part of local non-profit organizations, conservation advocates and civil society in building awareness, campaigning and pressuring the state into mobilizing resources that prioritize conservation in north Kolkata is a third critical obstacle. Unlike Ahmedabad where non-profits like the City Heritage Center, Vaarso Foundation and the AMC Heritage Cell are solely working for Walled City revitalization, north Kolkata presently lacks any strong advocacy movement. The city's famed cultural conscience, erudite intelligentsia and

culture of protest has rarely garnered any public opinion or voiced a strong resistance towards poor conservation practices, lack of government interest and systematic destruction of architectural heritage in north Kolkata. The citizens, professionals, state authorities and even the local media, collectively need to shrug the stigma associated with these historic neighborhoods, and divert their sole attention from central Kolkata's 'postcard city.' Until then conservation practice in the city risks remaining exclusive, inequitable and entrenched in colonial prejudices which still prefers to dismiss its 'native quarters.'

3. Kolkata's cosmopolitan character is demonstrated in the multitude of ethnic enclaves and their architectural diversity. Historically known as a melting pot of culture and commerce, the city neighborhoods are representative of this vibrant mix of people and communities. Still standing tall are old China Town²⁸⁴ at Tiretta Bazar, the Jewish heritage in Chowringhee Mansion, Esplanade Mansion and Ezra Hospital along with two significant synagogues,²⁸⁵ the Armenian legacy of churches and colleges²⁸⁶ and the Anglo-Indian stronghold of Bow Barracks.²⁸⁷ These quarters formed the buffer zones that physically separated the European and the native towns, creating an urban transition that is intrinsic to the city's urban development. Today a shrinking ethnic population with depleting economic resources has cornered their social and architectural history, which is languishing without support or concern for conservation.

Under such circumstances it is far-fetched to imagine that Pondicherry's model of international interest, awareness and financial collaboration can be effective, in its entirety, in the

²⁸⁴ "Bell Tolls for China Town," Times of India, Kolkata, 28 April 2004

²⁸⁵ "Only 27 remain, but Jews Love Kolkata," Daily News and Analysis, Kolkata, 27 May 2012

²⁸⁶ Banerjee, Poulomi. "Church Children: The Armenians of Calcutta," The Telegraph, Kolkata, 23 May 2010.

²⁸⁷ Sengupta, Swati, "Christmas means Time to go Home, to Bow Barracks," Times of India, Kolkata, 18 December 2010.

Kolkata context (refer Chapter 3). A distinct French historical imprint continues to echo through Pondicherry today that resonates with Indo-French cultural organizations, national and internationally. This singular French identity has been a part of Pondicherry's recent past, being merged with India only in 1954. Kolkata's ethnic diversities, Jews, Armenians, Greek, Scottish, Chinese, Anglo-Indians, and its representative architecture, on the other hand, were most active between the 18th and 19th century and have declined steadily since. In contemporary Kolkata, there arises an ambiguity about whose cultural heritage this is, who its custodians are, what its present utility and relevance is. They become stumbling blocks to identifying the right organizations and advocates for conservation of ethnic built heritage in the city.

A small step in this direction was taken when “in 2008 on the initiative of James Simpson, a heritage architect of Edinburgh, and Lord Charles Bruce, a descent of Lord Mayo, fourth Viceroy of India, the Kolkata Scottish Heritage Trust (KSHT) was formed in Scotland to commemorate and build on the historic links between Scotland and India. Their first task was restoration of the Scottish Cemetery”²⁸⁸ near Park Street. Other former colonial trading posts, near Kolkata and further upstream the River Hooghly, have also recently received interest for restoration of individual or a group of heritage buildings. The St. Olav's Church from 1806 in Serampore (a Danish colony called Frederiksnagore between 1755 – 1845, and 25 kilometers north of Kolkata) is currently being restored with funding by the Danish Ministry of Culture. Furthermore, the Society for Preservation of Danish Serampore Heritage contributes to the restoration of the church benches and other inventory with support from Queen Margrethe's and

²⁸⁸ “Scottish Cemetery – website of St. Andrew's Church, Kolkata,” <http://standrewschurch-kolkata.org/>; (accessed 13 May 2013).

Prince Henrik's Foundation.²⁸⁹ Simultaneously the West Bengal Heritage Commission (WBHC) in tandem with the National Museum of Denmark has been restoring the Danish Government House in Serampore since 2009.²⁹⁰

Such initiatives indicate a slow interest in revitalizing the colonial heritage of Kolkata and its immediate surrounds. The question still remains of who the key stakeholders will be in conservation of ethnic heritage. What ends will restoration of these isolated heritage buildings and structures serve without a long-term maintenance and reuse plan that is integral to local communities, and for how long? It is unrealistic to expect all foreign governments and communities that once had a strong presence in Kolkata to now steer conservation of their dilapidated ethnic heritage. The state government in West Bengal does not allocate any budget for their restoration, depending entirely on central funding and international fundraising efforts. This puts a huge question mark over the future of a significant quantity of Kolkata's historic building inventory that is linked to the city's ethnic diversity and plurality.

Kolkata's richness and variety in historic resources is therefore countered by a variety of complex problems. Conservation is hampered by the lack of regulatory and economic tools and the clarity of frameworks for implementation. Effective and successful models at tackling some of the issues do exist and have been used in other cities and contexts. But for Kolkata, who is doing this thinking? Who has the vision to chart a long-term, inclusionary, and sustainable conservation road map for its urban heritage and historic neighborhoods?

²⁸⁹ "The Serampore Initiative," <http://natmus.dk/en/forskning/research-projects/the-serampore-initiative/projects/restoration-of-st-olavs-church/>; (accessed 13 May 2013).

²⁹⁰ Das, Soumitra, "Heritage Hope in Danish plan for Serampore," *The Telegraph*, Kolkata, 2013

Re-imaging the city: Creating an invigorated identity for Kolkata's heritage

The perception of Kolkata today, in the minds of its residents and outsiders alike, is that of stagnation with a 'frozen in time' spirit. To the emigrant, it is a "portable city of the mind"²⁹¹ that is beyond the reach of urban blight and civic neglect and flourishes all the more as the real one declines. To the resident it is a shadow of its former self, as the former capital of the British Empire in India, once counted as the grandest, most advanced of Asian cities. The city and its built heritage are today caught in this perceptual dichotomy, between a nostalgic self-image and a grim urban reality.

A major reconfiguration of meanings and associated value can instill a contemporary direction for this built heritage and its stewardship. Re-visioning allows the possibility to interpret the historicity and significance of heritage buildings and areas with a view towards their value and use as an asset to the city's growth. A three-fold approach is explored here that aims at outlining probable areas and tools for the city.

1. Identifying core strengths and embedded value of the city's heritage areas: These can be the pivots around which preservation campaigns and core groups are formed. Shedding the purely colonial narrative of these structures and zones can bridge the gulf created between the present custodians and their historic use and users.

For instance, the 19th century jute mills along the river Hooghly have a checkered history with the city's past and present. Set up by the British and a major factor in Kolkata's great economic boom, their subsequent decline and their passing into the ownership of the wealthy immigrant Marwari community is emblematic of the city's fluctuating fortunes. Associated with the mills is the reality of labor unions strikes, industry conflicts, lockouts and eventual

²⁹¹ Suraiya, Jug, "Calcutta Chromosome." The Outlook Magazine, 12 January 2009.
<http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?239452>

unemployment of local industrial workers. This narrative lends a contemporary relevance to such “industrial heritage” where the brick-faced colonial edifices of the mill and its under-utilized compound present potentials for rehabilitation. To prevent the mill-lands along the river from meeting a fate similar to those in Mumbai, a case for their preservation needs to be made. Identifying potential new uses that capitalize on their riverfront location and tie into larger development plans for the area could be a propeller. Proposed municipal projects, such as the Ganga Action Plan²⁹² (GAP), a central government initiative, funds from which are being used for riverfront development and improved river-based transit networks along the Hooghly offer platforms for integration, marketing and visibility. Coupled with private investment for mixed-use activities including office space, cultural hubs and retail, a holistic revitalization of vacant mill buildings along the river can be envisioned.

Similar potentials lies within the “cultural heritage” of the *ghats* (steps, ablution structures and urban plazas leading to the river) of north Kolkata, “institutional heritage” to the educational district around College Street in north Kolkata that incubated the 19th century Bengal Renaissance, and the “zamindari heritage” that flourished in neighborhoods along Upper Chitpur Road, among others. Preservation advocates in the city are professionally equipped to identify, classify, and evaluate such heritage resources. As a self initiated exercise, reimagining heritage potential holds immense possibility for transforming public perception of the city’s historic assets that can convert into multiple mass awareness campaigns.

²⁹² This program has been framed for abatement of pollution of The Ganges. River Front Development (RFD) is an important element of GAP. The objective of this component is to bring the river closer and accessible to people and using the riverfront as recreational areas for people of all ages. <http://www.kmwsa.gov.in/html/gap.html> (accessed 23 December 2013). Currently in its second phase, the Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA) implements the program. http://www.kmdaonline.org/pdf/aar11/programmes_of_kmda.pdf (accessed 23 December 2013).

2. Identifying potential leadership to carry forth preservation campaigns: The lack of preservation advocacy has clearly emerged as a fundamental failure of the conservation movement in Kolkata. The absence of voices and action groups in support of conservation is surprising considering the city's long and charged history of political, social and cultural campaigns that seek to express dissent, garner public participation and uphold values that are core to its local community. Human capital is the city's greatest asset and mobilizing citizens, across multiple platforms, is among the key challenges of being a preservationist in Kolkata. Recognizing the diverse community base and tailoring public participation programs for each will further create focus areas.

For instance, heritage education at the high school and college level could help to foster within the city's young people a strong sense of engagement, ownership, and responsibility toward their community through learning about the built environment. Participation at this level builds a strong base of volunteers who are enthusiastic, committed, and critical to steer preservation campaigns on ground. Formalizing neighborhood organizations that regularly work together during religious and festive occasions creates a target-specific focus group for each action area. Empowering such a group with a preservation mission and fundraising goals then facilitates small positive changes within historic zones that can bring about a tangible impact. Engaging non-profits and the private sector through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) channelizes funds along with sophisticated resource management skills into each conservation action area—the true dynamics of a social campaign. In the absence of city-agency endorsed support, aid, incentives or vision, there is still considerable ground that well thought out private and local initiatives can cover for Kolkata's conservation.

3. Creating local area planning that is sensitive to heritage areas: Yet municipal support cannot be completely sidelined and the body's regulatory apparatus, if not financial instruments, will need to be employed for long-term action. Support from the Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA) in formulating local area plans for heritage zones within its overall urban development master planning will then provide teeth to regulatory controls. The use of Development Control Regulations (DCR), floor space index (FSI) caps and design guidelines can then help control change in historic areas. By eliminating a one-size-fits-all approach, regulation and public participation can create multiple opportunities even where financial tools and flow is restricted.

CONCLUSION

Historic cores in Indian cities pose a multitude of urban challenges where the sum of its parts seems larger and more daunting a task for urban conservation to address purely using financial apparatus. The ‘wicked problems’ involved appear unsolvable by a singular sweeping stroke of intervention at any one level. The urban conservation of historic neighborhoods needs to take root firmly in mainstream city planning and economic development processes. Its practice as a niche area, understood and applied by a select group of preservationists, planners, city municipalities, private players and conscientious citizens will merely result in successful pilot projects and narrow action areas with limited lifespans and low systemic change. This entails a mindset shift, one that values historical significance of heritage precincts and also contextualizes their role for the future, through continuity and change. Otherwise even the mere nostalgic desire to conserve history and identity becomes incapacitated by the lack of means to do anything significant. The following conclusion summarizes discussions and findings in previous chapters in an attempt to assimilate the learning. It fleshes out the critical inferences that impact participation, economics, and regulation for urban conservation in historic urban quarters in Indian cities, and more specifically in Kolkata.

Participation: The most essential driving force, from where heritage economics and regulations can work successfully, is when people are empowered to participate in the urban conservation process. When conservation is viewed as a social campaign, enabling local communities and citizens to find their voice and a platform to express the same, it becomes an inclusive, grassroots activity. Participation allows this, where every individual in the state can become stewards of their history and heritage. Fostering a sense of belonging and association to that heritage, which

is a composite asset with shared cultural values, allays disconnect between common citizens and the vast built repository of India's past, with its myriad sites competing for attention.

Conservation professionals and the city authorities should prioritize community consultations, meetings and encourage formation of neighborhood preservation groups that locally galvanize the movement. A lack of engagement risks a rather dangerous trend in city planning where local participation is wholly replaced by opinions and recommendations by expert consultants, often commissioned at a high fee and sourced non-locally. Being delinked from contextual research and citizen inputs, any ratification of their efforts by public or private agencies can potentially cause more harm to historic areas. The Mumbai, Ahmedabad and Pondicherry case studies in Chapter 3 have demonstrated innovative ways by which a range of citizen groups, non-profit advocates, and local communities can steer urban conservation efforts.

An active and engaged civil society bolstered the conservation movement in Mumbai through the Fort precinct. The formation of neighborhood associations such as the KCA, HCA, BEWA, OVAL group and Heritage Mile Association have monitored effective implementation of heritage regulations, created feasible financial models for the precinct's conservation and lobbied the government where action was insufficient. Ahmedabad's municipal-initiated Heritage Cell has used heritage education and advocacy to 'bring the city back to its people,' and instill value and identity through the historic built environment in its Walled City. By involving non-profit organizations such as CRUTA and CHC, they have created equitable public-private models that strive to extend and include neighborhood residents in the conservation dialogue. In Pondicherry, non-profit cultural and conservation organizations, such as INTACH and FPH, equally partner with the city municipality to fulfill conservation goals. The inclusive and participatory process has helped foreign and local funding to be utilized for conservation projects

that balance commerce and community interests. Economic development that supports social and cultural development is prioritized owing to holistic revitalization.

Kolkata, on the other hand, is failing to mobilize local non-profit organizations, conservation advocates and civil society in building awareness, campaigning and pressuring the state into prioritizing conservation in its historic neighborhoods. Neighborhood and cultural associations, which successfully converge, to seasonally organize and manage local festivals, religious gatherings and cultural events, can possibly become a prime force in this direction. But that is yet to happen. This implies that heritage conservation in Kolkata continues to remain disconnected from the people, its real users and custodians, and is a narrow activity practiced, promoted and beneficial to a select subset only.

Economics: Chapters 2 has demonstrated how regulations in the absence of a financial toolkit, that incentivizes the conservation process for all stakeholders involved will be successful only in limited spheres. Economically investing in an area's historic resources has emerged as critical to this ideal where financing conservation projects is heavily dependent on multiple sources of capital. Case studies, which depend solely on municipal financing for historic regeneration, demonstrate mixed success and short-term solutions. The Mumbai and Hyderabad Municipal Corporations, and the State tourism departments of Rajasthan and Kerala have attempted to introduce sophisticated and attracted incentives for property owners and private investors alike. The absence of quantifiable data that statistically records the success and accessibility of such state offered incentives hinder evaluation. It poses difficulties in gauging what proportion of the target group has actually benefited from the schemes. Whether incentives are extant only on paper to showcase a heritage-friendly image of the State government or not remains a question.

In India, availing of any government scheme is a time and energy intensive process, involving extensive paperwork and multiple departmental clearances. This makes it highly susceptible to bureaucracy, corruption, covert dealings to encourage delays and malpractices that retard success, such as the ‘Grihasthali homestay scheme’ in Kerala. They disincentivize availing government subsidies, for both the small budget restoration projects and the high-investment rehabilitation, resulting in ineffectiveness. A proven, measurable track record and expectation of success in government initiated schemes; incentives and projects are imperative before they can actually begin to become successful. Municipalities in Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Cochin and Kolkata also extend limited fiscal and budgetary incentives to medium and high-end investors for revenue-generating rehabilitation projects. This acts as another deterrent for a majority of private investors from entering the low-value, historic neighborhood market. Private players, especially in the arts and hospitality sector, with robust financial means and a preservation vision continue to execute projects without government funding or subsidies. Yet it only forms a small percentage of private sector capital being invested in historic neighborhoods and is a hugely untapped conservation potential.

The city government must not be absolved from economically reinforcing urban conservation as initiator, regulator, facilitator and equal partner, but it cannot be the only steward of the vast resource. Tapping into private investment to aid and augment municipal efforts gains paramount importance, especially in historic neighborhoods, where minimal budgets are otherwise allocated for heritage conservation. Chapter 3 has demonstrated public-private, and private initiatives, which were ably supported by city authorities to galvanize holistic revitalization with long-range impacts. Mumbai’s preservation groups involved corporations, small businesses and local traders to participate and finance conservation activity in the designated Fort precinct that

directly empowered key stakeholders. Ahmedabad's municipality forged periodic partnerships at multiple levels, including the local (CRUTA Foundation), national (through HUDCO) and international (MoU with Government of France) for Walled City revitalization. For the future, it is drawing local financing through real estate-friendly solutions, to generate income and economically boost community health, as a long term and sustainable path. Pondicherry has leveraged national and international interest groups to garner financial aid for its distinct Franco-Tamil built heritage. Funding from these sources has been channelized into social, cultural and recreational agendas through historic rehabilitation, thereby making preservation equitable and accessible for all.

Economic incentives have been established as a key driver for regeneration in this thesis and yet they, considered alone, can lead a project awry. Heritage economics must emerge from the wants and needs of a social group, and be determined based on imperatives and aspirations of local communities. Devising programs, schemes and projects that neglect the ground realities of the area and tangible, future benefits to the users often fail when implemented. It is here that inclusive and participatory market studies and feasibility analysis prove invaluable to informed economic investment in historic areas. Appropriately identifying community requirements and investing in a community's future can increase the quality of residential life and value of small businesses and local commerce, while increasing land and property value. Improving livability within historic cores is the best way to enhance tourism potential while mitigating threats of gentrification.

Two scenarios need further deliberation; one where finances do exist and another where they do not. What happens if the finances are not there? How is a preservation campaign drawn up purely based on the social needs and wants of a place? The potential of community groups

and local non-profits can greatly be harnessed for advocacy and fundraising. Through a time and human-capital-intensive process, it can often yield results with high impact and bring about systemic change. On the other hand, the presence of adequate funding does not always guarantee well-thought-out and efficiently implemented projects. Poor visioning and leadership at the outstart and lack of community support can lead to failure of conservation efforts in historic neighborhoods even where the financial muscle exists. This can further be coupled with lack of accountability, low quality of execution, corruption and mismanagement of funds to derail the process.

Cities such as Kolkata need keenly to study all aspects of existing economic models, to evaluate strengths and opportunities that each offer to imbibe from some ‘best practices.’ They also need to exercise caution where other cities have faltered through their incentive programs and be aware of the pitfalls of the process. Outright passiveness, especially where regulatory frameworks exist and provide a start point for effective implementation, is deeply detrimental to the future of historic cores.

Regulation: Despite the presence of key legislation for protection of historic buildings and districts within Town Planning acts from the British era, of several states, their under utilization or non enforcement has led to a sizeable depletion, through demolition and loss of architectural integrity. Existing national legislation, framed by the ASI, central government departments and enacted by select states have been found as inadequate to meet the present day challenges. In the absence of recent land reforms, a multitude of debilitating laws such as the Rent Control and Tenancy Acts further constrict the will for conservation. Under such constraints, heritage legislation needs to be progressive and with enough latitude to work effectively in spite of older

archaic land laws. The Mumbai regulations of 1995 were locally beneficial but were slow to trigger similar actions by other states for another decade (barring Hyderabad in the same year).

Almost thirty years on, a complete lack of heritage legislation in cities such as Kerala and Pondicherry is proving counterproductive to conservation efforts by INTACH, other interested private and non-profit organizations, and the local government. The threats of demolition and incompatible alterations can imbalance the constructive efforts of adaptive use and restoration of heritage buildings and zones. Ahmedabad, adopting legislation only in 2010, did succeed in partially containing irreversible damage to its historic neighborhoods and generate public awareness and interest in the value of urban conservation. As discussed in Chapter 2, this was achieved through a series of progressive building regulation codes, alteration in Development Control rules and a set of financial instruments that made conservation a tool for economic and community development. Kolkata, in spite of adopting heritage legislation in 2001, failed to enact them before 2007 through grading procedures, constituting the WB Heritage Commission and punitive action against demolition or unapproved alterations. These, however, are inordinately insufficient and expose the wide gaps between formulation and implementation. It is perhaps the foremost indicator that regulation, perhaps the only tangible tool in several Indian cities today, severely lacks teeth where poor advocacy, lack of public participation, economic constraints and low political will impedes enforcement.

Limitations of the study, further questions and future investigations:

Time and availability of resources in the research stage have been paramount to the format and structure of the thesis. It is by no means a comprehensive account of either urban conservation in India or neighborhood revitalization through participatory, economic, regulatory frameworks. Each of these frameworks holds the potential of being studied at length,

independently and this thesis is one attempt to map their correlation and overlap to construct the bigger picture. Furthermore the study is limited by geography and the selection of those cities and historic neighborhoods under discussion is purely issue-based. Examples of this approach are seen in Chapter 2, where re-signifying urban heritage precincts (Mumbai), combating gentrification (Ahmedabad, Surat, Hyderabad) and providing impetus to heritage tourism (Rajasthan, Kerala) have been identified as key issues critical to the facilitation of urban conservation in historic neighborhoods. Each issue offers scope for detailed study at a local and national level holding enough currency as a research area by itself.

The case studies in Chapter 3 are categorized by distinction in funding mechanisms and nature of the historic precinct. Corporate patronage within the Fort precinct in Mumbai, municipal efforts for economic regeneration in the Walled city of Ahmedabad, and leveraging international action and aid the French and Tamil towns in Pondicherry provide a broad canvas to understand public, public-private, and private initiatives in stewarding urban conservation. And yet, neither the mechanisms nor areas of action provide a comprehensive account of every model being utilized in India, allowing ample opportunity for future investigation in this direction. The work also acknowledges that only a financial toolkit is insufficient. There are multiple paths, whose intersection and cooperation is necessary to enable successful urban conservation practices. Robust heritage legislation and state-controlled urban development policies along with transparent and rigorous enforcement form the backbone of such practices. A variety of funding models and incentives presented in Chapter 2 and 3, and unified under the umbrella of heritage economics, are therefore critical to the toolkit but not exclusive.

Land use and zoning laws is another pivotal tool, which can effectively regulate the nature of development in a historic neighborhood while being sensitive to community needs.

Ensuring that existing land uses are incorporated in the planning process, the implications of change in use to character and integrity of a building and neighborhood are equally important factors. An in-depth analysis of land use in the broader planning process is beyond the scope of this study and can be a future area for investigation. The role and impact of gentrification as a resultant of urban conservation, especially within residential neighborhoods, is another pertinent question emerging from this study. This work refers to the phenomenon through Ahmedabad but the topic merits a more expanded discussion within the Indian context. Kolkata's urban conservation practices and its future directions have been an understudied topic in itself. A sustained lack of research and theoretical questioning of the ground realities of this field presents several opportunities to critically explore this subject. This thesis is only a very small attempt in that direction, and other categorical research on the city's commitment to urban conservation offers a vast, uncharted territory.

APPENDIX 1

INTACH CHARTER 2004 FOR UNPROTECTED MONUMENTS (DRAFT, NOT ENACTED)

ARTICLE 6: GUIDELINES FOR CONSERVATION

6.2 Heritage zone

6.2.1 Conservation of architectural heritage sites can be undertaken in terms of the Heritage Zone concept propagated by INTACH. In general, Heritage Zones are sensitive development areas, which are a part of larger urban agglomeration possessing significant evidence of heritage. The Heritage Zone concept requires that the conservation of unprotected architectural heritage and sites must be sensitively planned, but also aligned with the imperatives of routine development process.

6.2.2 Urban conservation plans must be incorporated into the statutory Master Plan of cities. This necessitates undertaking a process of dialogue and negotiation with government town planning departments as part of the conservation strategy. Regulations to control or mediate development within the Heritage Zone, including new construction, demolition or modification to existing buildings around historic structures or within historic precincts can be formulated and incorporated within the “Special Area” provision of the respective Town Planning Acts of different States.

ARTICLE 7: MANAGEMENT

7.1 Role of local communities

7.1.1 Local communities or individuals must be entrusted with responsibilities to conserve their own heritage. Where outside expertise is necessary, local stakeholders must be made active participants at all stages of the conservation process. All decisions regarding the conservation and management of heritage must be taken in consultation with local communities in consonance with the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution of India.

7.3 Fiscal measures

7.3.1 Innovative financial schemes must be offered to individuals or communities in order to encourage their involvement and interest in the preservation of their own heritage. INTACH’s Advisory Committee should engage in dialogue with the Government to initiate the formulation of appropriate fiscal policies to promote conservation.

7.3.2 INTACH should lobby for the provision for a ‘Heritage Fund’ to be included in the annual or quinquennial budgetary allocations of Central and State governments. It should endeavor to ensure that local governing bodies have access to these funds through transparent mechanisms.

7.3.3 The policy of the ‘adoption’ of historic buildings/areas by competent and concerned community groups, trusts or private entrepreneurs of repute, that in no way harms the interests or well-being of the heritage or the society in which it exists, must be encouraged.

7.3.4 The owners or caretakers of listed heritage should be offered incentives by way of favorable tax rebates, grants, loans, transfer of development rights and so forth, in order to encourage and foster their interest in the conservation of their cultural property.

7.3.5 Public authorities, private companies, governmental bodies and non-governmental organizations should be encouraged to offer adequate financial assistance to traditional craftspeople and agencies involved in craft promotion and trade.

ARTICLE 8: EDUCATION AND PUBLIC AWARENESS

8.2 Public awareness

8.2.4 The legislation and regulations laid down in the administrative system, building by-laws, town planning acts and other measures relevant to the protection and conservation of architectural heritage must be made accessible to the public through user-friendly manuals and publications.

APPENDIX 2

MODEL HERITAGE REGULATIONS

1. A Model Heritage Bill prepared by the Center and sent to all State Governments with suggestions to enact the same.
2. All states could be requested to amend their existing Town and Country Planning Acts – as was done in Maharashtra in 1994 and Punjab in 2003.
3. A Draft National Cultural Heritage Bill updated from that prepared by INTACH in 1985 and implemented at the central and state levels.
4. Using the Environment (Protection) Act of 1986 to frame heritage regulations for protection of World Heritage Sites and other expansive heritage resources. It was applicable in cases where regulations for conservation of heritage sites are absent or ineffective, fall under multiple jurisdictions or when states fail to legislate locally.
5. The Cantonment Acts of 2006 governed 62 cantonment towns and contained clear provisions for conservation of heritage sites, but was missing dedicated heritage regulations. Urgent follow-up with the Defence Ministry, Army Headquarters, Station Commanders and Cantonment Boards could aid their creation.
6. A Model Notification for Hill Stations needed enactment to protect the heritage resources of over 200 hill stations listed in the Report of Environment Ministry's Hill Stations Committee.²⁹³

²⁹³ Ibid. Chainani, 2012. Pg 312

APPENDIX 3

BASIS OF GRADING FOR HERITAGE BUILDINGS, AS MANDATED BY THE MUMBAI HERITAGE COMMITTEE²⁹⁴

	GRADE I	GRADE II (A & B)	GRADE III
CRITERIA	Buildings and precincts of national or historical importance; architectural and technological excellence; associated with a great historical event, personality, movement or institution; are city landmarks	Buildings of regional or local importance; of special architectural, cultural or historical merit but lower than Grade I; work of master craftsmen, models of proportion or climatically suited	Buildings and precincts of importance for townscapes, evoking architectural aesthetic or sociological interest; do contribute to determine character of locality; representative of a community or region; distinguished by streetscape, façade unity; assigns group value
EXAMPLES	Victoria Terminus Railway Station (CST), Elphinstone College, Prince of Wales Museum, Gateway of India, Town Hall,	IIA – BMC Headquarters, Royal Bombay Yatch Club IIB – Bombay Gymkhana, Taj Mahal Hotel	Buildings within areas like Khotachiwadi and Darabshaw Lane, Banganga precincts, Cusrow Baug
RESTRICTIONS/ CHANGES	None on exterior or interior unless deemed structurally necessary. Surrounding area development will be regulated and controlled	IIA – Internal changes and adaptive reuse allowed; external changes subject to scrutiny IIB – All of above plus extension or addition in same plot can be permitted but in harmony with existing building	External, internal and adaptive reuse allowed; new constructions and alterations should adhere to overall heritage character of the streetscape and neighborhood façades; reconstruction may be allowed in accordance with DCR 1991 regulations;

²⁹⁴ Based on Kathpalia, Nayana & Abha Narain Lambah, *Heritage Buildings & Precincts – Mumbai: Conservation Manual for Owners & Occupiers*, Mumbai: UDRI, 2002, Pg. 9 – 15.

APPENDIX 4: EXISTING HERITAGE LEGISLATION ACROSS INDIAN STATES

Source: The table is based on Jain, Shikha. *Heritage Legislation In India: An Overview*.

Presentation at IHCN Second Biennale Conference, Hyderabad, AP, 18-20 Dec.2008

NAME OF ACTS	AREAS OF APPLICATION	HERITAGE LEGISLATION
Maharashtra		
Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966 as modified upto 1988.	Local Urban Areas, Metropolitan Areas, Regional Level	Amendment in 1995
Others: BMRDA Act, 1975; MHADA Act 1976; Maharashtra (Urban Areas) Preservation of Trees Act, 1975.		
STATUS: Heriage Legislation initiated by Mumbai; adapted/in process by Pune, Aurangabad, Nagpur, Kolhapur, Amravati, Bhandara and Nashik		
Andhra Pradesh		
Andhra Pradesh Urban Areas (Development) Act, 1975	Local –Urban Metropolitan Areas	Amendment in 2000 by HUDA for Hyderabad
STATUS: Initiated by Hyderabad; adapted/in process by Warangal, Puttaparthi, Vishakapatnam, Tirupati and Vijaywada		
Punjab		
Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922	Local Urban Areas	Amendment in April 2003
Others: Punjab Scheduled Roads and Controlled Areas (Restriction of unregulated development) Act 1963		
STATUS: Though amendment to the act is made, there is no change in regulations/byelaws at local level.		
Delhi		
The Delhi Development Act, 1957	Local Urban Areas	Delhi Building Byelaws modified in Feb. 2004
STATUS: Executed on the orders of Supreme Court after a writ petition was filed in 2002		
Goa		
Goa, Daman & Diu Town and Country Planning Act 1976	Local Urban Areas, Regional level	Comprehensive legislation but heritage amendment pending

NAME OF ACTS	AREAS OF APPLICATION	HERITAGE LEGISLATION
Gujarat		
Gujarat Town Planning & Urban Development Act, 1976	Local – Urban Metropolitan Areas	Comprehensive Act and Heritage legislation amendment integrated in Sep. 2007
Others: Coastal Regional Zone Protection		
STATUS: Initiated in Ahmedabad; in process by other cities like Vadodara, Surat , Rajkot, Bhavnagar, Jamnagar, Bhuj , Junagadh		
Rajasthan		
1. Rajasthan Urban Improvement Act 1959 as amended in 1991	Local – Urban Metropolitan Areas	TCP Act still pending Central govt. approval
2. Rajasthan Monuments, Archaeological Sites and Antiquities Act, 1961	Local – Urban Metropolitan Areas	Draft amendment to the 1961 Act in process. Dec.2008
STATUS: Act to be implemented across the State but is limited by its monument specific approach		
Haryana		
1. Punjab scheduled Roads & Controlled Areas Restriction of Unregulated Development Act, 1963	Regional level	No comprehensive planning legislation
2. Haryana Urban Development Authority Act, 1971.	Local Urban areas	
STATUS: INTACH in dialogue with the govt. for amendment in the Act		
Madhya Pradesh		
Madhya Pradesh Nagar Tatha Gram Nivesh Adhiniyam 1973	Local Urban Areas, Metropolitan Areas, Regional Level	Comprehensive TCP legislation – Heritage amendment pending
Bihar		
Bihar Town Planning & Improvement Trust Act, 1951	Local Urban Areas, Regional Level	Bill under consideration. No efforts for heritage legislation

NAME OF ACTS	AREAS OF APPLICATION	HERITAGE LEGISLATION
Himachal Pradesh		
Himachal Pradesh Town & Country Planning Act, 1977	Local Urban Areas	Comprehensive TCP legislation but no effort on heritage legislation
STATUS: Environmental Protection Act can be an important tool for Himachal till amendment is made in TCP Act		
Karnataka		
1. Karnataka Town & Country Planning Act, 1964	Local Urban Metropolitan Areas	Amendments under consideration
2. Bangalore Development Authority Act (1976) & Bangalore Metropolitan Regional Development Authority Act, 1985. (Karnataka Urban Development)	Metropolitan regions	
3. Authority Act 1987	Urban centers	
Kerala		
The Travancore Town & Country Planning Act, 1945 as amended in 1947 and 1975	Local Urban Areas	No comprehensive TP Act for the State –no amendments for heritage
Others: The Travancore Town Planning Regulations, 1932 as amended in 1960 & The Madras Town Planning Act, 1920 as amended in 1975		
Uttar Pradesh		
Uttar Pradesh Urban Planning and Development Act, 197	Local Urban Areas	Draft under consideration –no amendments for heritage
Chandigarh		
Capital of Punjab (Development & Regulation)	Extended to whole of Union Territory	World Heritage Site Nomination for Urban Heritage in process

APPENDIX 5

PROPOSAL FOR ECONOMIC INCENTIVES SUBMITTED BY INTACH HYDERABAD²⁹⁵

1. Reduction in Property tax, if not total exemption, of heritage buildings. While the loss to state government revenue will be miniscule, the relief measure will release funds to the owner. It will have a significant psychological impact on the owners to conserve their building. The availability of such relief would need review and depend on the state of maintenance of the heritage building.
2. Funds for conservation of heritage buildings owned by private owners. Created by setting apart a portion of property taxes collected for conservation of heritage buildings.
3. Cash incentives with proper follow-up and review: In extreme cases, cash incentives to be provided to owners for repairs and alternative use. Where cash incentives are provided, the formation of a Task Force would be an integral part of any scheme for Restoration/ Renovation/ Repair.
4. Subsidized loans: Work out a scheme for loans at subsidized rates to owners of heritage buildings for maintenance, repair, conservation for use.
5. Permit change of use of Heritage Buildings: New revenue generating uses, while maintaining integrity, would make conservation viable for owners and investors.
6. Take heritage buildings outside the purview of the Tenancy Act.
7. If a heritage building is given on rent, the lease rent deed should be exempt from stamp duty. When such a building is sold, the buyer should be exempted from paying stamp duty on registration.
8. Expenses incurred on maintenance of a heritage building should be eligible for exemption from Income Tax.
9. TDR should be made available to the lessee of a heritage building

²⁹⁵ Based on Incentives scheme proposed by INTACH, Hyderabad Chapter, March 2005; <http://www.hyderabadgreens.org/hcell.html>, accessed 23 October 2012.

APPENDIX 6

ECONOMIC INCENTIVES PROVIDED FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF HERITAGE HOTELS BY MINISTRY OF TOURISM, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA²⁹⁶

1. Bihar – The state government would encourage establishment of heritage hotel in Bihar by identifying heritage buildings and mansions to convert them to heritage hotels in order to provide quality accommodation to tourists.
2. Gujarat – The state has announced policies related to medical tourism, eco-tourism, hotel investment incentive scheme and heritage tourism policies under the umbrella of Tourism Policy 2003-2010.
3. Madhya Pradesh – To keep up the interest in investors, a special package of incentives for the tourism industry has been prepared. These incentives will also be available for private entrepreneurs for activities like hotels, motels and restaurants, heritage hotels.
4. Orissa – Park Hotels, Viceroy Hotel, Mahindra Holidays and Resorts India, Kamat Hotels (India), Muthoot Hotels and Tourism Ventures, Mahodadhinivas, Puri – being developed as a heritage hotel on the BOT format. A few heritage hospitality players in the fray include Welcome Heritage and Neemrana Hotels. In addition, 32 more properties belonging to department of tourism, government of Orissa have been proposed to be developed on long-term lease basis.
5. Rajasthan – The Tourism Unit Policy 2007 gives concessions to heritage hotels. Heritage properties, which are being converted to heritage hotels with a minimum of 10 rooms, have been exempted from 100 per cent conversion charges. Similarly converting heritage hotels would also get 75 per cent concession on stamp duty, provided the property is more than 100 years old. Hotels will also be getting 50 per cent remission in luxury tax during the off-season.
6. Tamil Nadu – The government is encouraging investments in to the state and is providing subsidies for conversion of heritage buildings, as well as providing soft loans. For three-star and above hotels, 10 per cent of the total project cost (excluding land value) or a

²⁹⁶ Based on Bhaduri, Sayoni, '*Strengthening heritage*,' in Express Travel World: A Tryst with Heritage - WTM 2011 Special, November 2011 issue.
<http://www.expresstravelworld.com/201111/management02.shtml>; accessed 23 October 2012.

maximum of Rs 100 lakh is a one time subsidy being offered for the construction of a hotel.

7. Uttar Pradesh – The tourism policy of Uttar Pradesh was enforced in December 1998. According to the policy investors are promoted to invest in the heritage hotel category. A scheme to promote heritage hotels where developers would get a subsidy of 10 per cent and ceiling of Rs 7.5 lakh was set up. The state would take up the responsibility of restoration of ancient places, havelies, buildings and forts.
8. Puducherry – The government had announced various fiscal incentives and subsidies, mainly as it proposed development of at least 500 rooms in the three to five star hotel category and heritage hotels over the next few years. Interest subsidies were announced as well as separate incentives and construction subsidies for heritage hotels and buildings. Over the years, the investment subsidy has been hiked to a total of 25 per cent of total investment subject to a maximum of Rs 100 lakh per project, provided it commenced commercial operations post April 1, 2005.

Incentives given by Ministry of Tourism to heritage hotels:

In 2008, the ministry of tourism had announced a revised scheme of incentives. The focus of the scheme is creating additional room capacity; hence the subsidy is on the basis of rooms created. The scheme is valid all over the country and includes hotel projects in the metro cities also, as the shortage of hotel rooms is more acute in such cities. Additionally, the subsidy has no relation to the loan taken or interest paid as was in the earlier schemes, making it more entrepreneur friendly, reducing paperwork. They are:

1. The incentive to a 1 – star hotel will be Rs 2 lakh per room subject to a maximum of Rs 30 lakh.
2. The incentive to a two – star hotel will be Rs Three lakh per room subject to a maximum of Rs 75 lakh
3. The incentive to a three- star hotel and heritage basic category will be Rs Three lakh per room, subject to a maximum of Rs 100 lakh.
4. Under this scheme subsidy was given at 10 per cent of the loan taken subject to a maximum of Rs 25 lakh for one-star, Rs 50 lakh for a two-star and Rs 75 lakh for three-star and heritage category of hotels.

APPENDIX 7: ECONOMIC INCENTIVES BY GOVERNMENT OF RAJASTHAN

- Incentive/ Concessions Offered by State Government:²⁹⁷

1. Remission in Luxury Tax: 50% for 5 years in municipal areas and to the extent of 100% for 5 years in Panchayat areas.
2. Conversion charge for Heritage hotels: none for rural areas and in urban area, will be charged on the built up area and equivalent land as per rates specified under Rajasthan Urban Improvement Trust Rules 1974.
3. Depreciation exemption: eligible at the rate of 20% while furniture and fittings used in hotels have been allowed a rate of 15%.
4. Loan interest subsidy: For approved projects, on loans granted by Industrial Finance Corporation of India (IFCI), Tourism Finance Corporation of India (TFCI) and State
5. Financial Institutions. 4 and 5 star category hotels are granted 1% interest subsidy up to a maximum of Rs 75 lakhs and hotels of 1 to 3 star categories are granted 3% subsidy on entire loan amount.
6. Foreign Exchange Incentive Quota: For approved hotels which is 10% of their direct foreign exchange earnings. Available for essential imports including vehicles, overseas promotional tours, publicity and advertising. Additionally 2.5% of forex earnings of the preceding year can be released for tourist promotion and travel abroad subject to a maximum of Rs.15 lakhs.
7. State Capital Investment Subsidy Scheme for Tourism Development: Heritage hotels can avail 20% or Rs. 20 lacs of the eligible investment whichever is less.²⁹⁸

B. Incentive/ Concessions Offered by Central Government:

1. Income tax incentives: (i) Section 80 HHD of the Income Tax Act: on their foreign exchange earnings. 50% of profits derived by hotels, travel agents and tour operators in foreign exchange are exempt from income tax. (ii) Section 80Ib of the Income Tax Act: on 50% of profits derived from non-foreign exchange earnings.
2. Interest Subsidy: 3% interest subsidy is available to hotels of one to three star category on loans sanctioned by financial institutions. 5% Interest subsidy is available on loans if tourism units are in Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Barmer.

²⁹⁷ “Incentives Available To Hotel Industry In Rajasthan,”

<http://www.rajtourism.com/html/business/hotelind.htm>; accessed 23 October, 2012.

²⁹⁸ Rajasthan Tourism Policy 2010,

<http://www.rajasthantourism.gov.in/Home/RajasthanTourism6.aspx>; accessed 8 March, 2013.

APPENDIX 8

INCENTIVES OF THE GRIHASTHALI SCHEME, BY GOVERNMENT OF KERALA

The objectives of the scheme were:

1. Convert heritage buildings in the State to tourist accommodation by giving incentives and financial assistance to approved projects.
2. To register those properties where owners would not like to convert their buildings themselves but are interested in identifying a potential partner/buyer for the property.
3. Make a database of heritage properties available for sale in the State and register them for the benefit of potential investors.

Incentives offered to approved projects:

- Subsidy for the preparation of project report up to 25% of the expenditure, subject to a maximum of Rs. 10,000/-
- ii) Investment subsidy up to 25% of the investment for renovation, subject to a maximum of Rs. 5 lakhs.
- iii) Financial assistance for the project through low interest loans from financial institutions like KFC or banks.
- iv) Ensure residential tariff on electricity and water charges for homestay providers in consultation with KSEB and Water Authority.²⁹⁹

Procedure to claim incentives:

- Subsidy for preparation of project reports: To be sanctioned by the state level committee on the recommendation of the Director of Tourism. To claim the subsidy, the promoters shall apply to the Department Director in the prescribed form.
- ii) Investment subsidy for approved projects after starting operation, according to the procedure stipulated in GO (P) No. 14/88/GAD dated 12.8.98. The Director of Tourism with whom the application for investment subsidy is filed, will refer the eligible applications to the state level committee with suitable recommendations. The committee will sanction the eligible subsidy.

²⁹⁹ This clause is in conjunction with the Kerala Tourism Policy of 2012.

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